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ABSTRACT

The Federally-sponsored manpower development project is concerned with two major issues: (1) ways to determine what particular services are needed by given clients in manpower programs for the disadvantaged, and (2) ways to organize a manpower program so that each individual receives appropriate services to fulfill individual needs. Following two introductory sections defining relevant constructs, 17 case studies of innovative programs and procedures are presented to help manpower program planners and administrators think about individualization in new ways. Case study programs include: Individualized Manpower Training System (IMTS), Training and Technology (TAT), Arizona Job Colleges (AJC), Life Skills Education Model, Comprehensive Manpower Office (COMO), Vocational Exploration Groups (VEG), and Job-Related Education and Vestibule Training. Other case studies deal with procedures of: Job Agent classification, Cleff Job-Man Matching System, self-help work units, systems approach, telephone company training, Training Decision Paradigm, individualized instruction in education, behavioral assessment, behavioral training, and personalized salvage of failing trainess. Implications for policy and action of prime sponsors is explored in relation to manpower service delivery. An annotated bibliography of references for material cited is included; a nine-page appendix presents some research on work attitudes and work skills. (EA)

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INDIVIDUALIZATION OF MANPOWER SERVICES:

A SOURCEBOOK OF IDEAS

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Two major topics are discussed: (1) ways to determine what particular services are needed by given clients in manpower programs for the disadvantaged and (2) ways to organize a manpower program so that each individual gets just the services he needs, no more, no less. Following two introductory sections defining relevant constructs, seventeen descriptions of innovative programs and procedures are presented, including listings of resources for further information. The reference list includes selected annotations of source documents.

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AUTHORS' NOTE

This paper is about: (a) ways to determine what particular services are needed by given clients in manpower programs for the disadvantaged and (b) ways to organize a manpower program so that each individual gets just the service he needs, no more and no less.

Psychological factors relevant to the individualization process are emphasized. We also have made a deliberate effort to organize this paper so as to make it relevant and useful for program operators.

We were fortunate to have knowledgeable reviewers critique drafts of our paper, both from this psychological viewpoint and from others. Particularly helpful were the extensive comments and suggestions offered by Jesse Gordon of Manpower Science Services and by Curtis Aller of the Center for Applied Manpower Research. Thomas Backer and Molly Lewin of the Human Interaction Research Institute provided valuable input. To all these persons the authors extend their thanks.

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I. Introduction: Why Individualize?

Although the basic goals of manpower services remain the same, recent legislation has introduced a variety of new opportunities and responsibilities for the operators of local manpower programs. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973 provides local manpower agencies and their prime sponsors with more control over service delivery than ever before. New alternatives for responding to local needs are made feasible, and there is increased room for experimentation with innovative means of providing employability development services to people from socially or educationally deprived backgrounds.

At the same time, however, the very fact of greater control also implies increased responsibility for the effectiveness of services rendered. No longer can local program operators attribute failures and shortcomings to the constraints imposed by control from above. Furthermore, pressures for accountability in all social services continues. Program operators are being called to task more often than heretofore for shortcomings in the quality of services or the efficiency with which they are rendered.

Thus, the advent of CETA ushers in a new era of challenge for local program operators. This is hardly news to decision makers in those programs who are grappling with the problems of planning and redesigning their service delivery efforts. Our purpose here is neither to define these problems nor prescribe fully developed solutions to them. Rather, we have assembled a collection of ideas that local manpower program operators might find helpful when planning their service delivery efforts.

This collection of ideas centers on a catch phrase that the manpower agency planners and administrators reading this document doubtless have already heard about--"individualization." In recent years, this term has been used to describe a number of experimental efforts to develop new and better patterns of services in the manpower field. Particularly in the 1960s, manpower officials at both local and federal levels displayed an intense interest in the concept of individualization, and there were large-scale efforts to implement it. California, for example, under state legislative leadership, attempted to redirect the State Employment Service on a massive scale, and experimented with new kinds of individualized service, together with a new category of employee, the Job Agent (see Case Study No. 8, p. 28).

Although the "individualization movement" since has waned, a number of ideas that have emerged under this innovative thrust are seemingly worth assembling and restating for consideration by local prime sponsors now working under CETA. That is the purpose of this paper: to describe certain promising ideas for possible consideration by local program decision makers. This will not be a history or a theoretical treatise with reference to the

individualization movement. Rather, we will present a number of case studies having to do with ways of achieving individualized treatment within various types of manpower services. This collection of cases is intended to be a stimulus for thought, with the caveat that application to local programs of the concepts and techniques presented here probably would require considerable adaptation.

But why "individualization"? What is this concept, and why might the examples of it given here have some relevance to manpower services in the 1970s?

Clients Differ

The basic point of individualization is that not everyone who turns up at the door of a manpower service program needs the same kinds of services. Clients differ in terms of the job skills, personality features, life circumstances, and specific job history that they bring to the door of manpower program. Some clients can "make it" out of culturally and educationally deprived backgrounds on their own, without any outside assistance. (See box on following page.) Others may require long term help of various kinds to be able to get and hold a job in keeping with their abilities.

Services Must Vary in Response

Since clients coming into a manpower program bring with them different sets of assets and liabilities, the service delivery effort must provide a flexibility in response to these individual differences. To give an extreme example, one would hardly expect to offer the same set of services to an out-of-work aerospace engineer as one would to an 18-year-old black girl who has never held a job. A comprehensive manpower service agency must have a number of options available to be responsive to varying sets of needs presented by clients who come to it. Or, the program must have the capability to refer to other service delivery outlets those clients whose needs do not fit its available service options.

Bringing Clients and Services Together: Individualization

Individualization thus refers to the process by which manpower program personnel, in collaboration with the client himself when feasible, determine what service or services are most appropriate for a given individual, based on the pattern of personal characteristics he presents and the range of services that can be made available. This approach assumes that, just as an inflexible program may prevent some clients from getting the services they need, so it also may offer other clients services they in fact do not need. To a program administrator, either prospect translates as "money wasted." Individualization involves tailoring a specific package of services to the particular needs of given clients or groups of clients. The aims of

Differences among the Disadvantaged: Report of a Research Study

This study underscores a fundamental assumption of the individualization approach as defined here: Not every disadvantaged program enrollee needs the same package of services. The successful subjects in the study described below were "able to do it" on their own--for them, the best manpower service might have been a simple notice of a job opening. Also, the study stresses the importance of motivational and psychological factors in "making it out of the ghetto"--factors that are given special emphasis in this review.

Glaser and Ross (1970) studied disadvantaged black and Mexican-American persons who were able to demonstrate job stability, contrasted with a comparable group who did not. In general, the "successfuls" could be described as identifying with mainstream life and culture; the "unsuccessfuls" with street life or gang life and culture. Differences in life styles for the two groups who grew up in similar disadvantaged circumstances were characterized as follows:

1. Mainstream life, in its ghetto variant, characterized by a work and achievement ethic, close family ties and loyalties, avoidance of trouble with the law, stability on the job, taking responsibility for one's own life, orderly planning for long-range goals, ability to sustain activity in goal-directed behavior, and an ability to make a somewhat harmonious adjustment to the existing larger social order.

2. Street life or gang life, characterized by an ethic of toughness, shrewdness, hustling, violence, emphasis on having a reputation among one's peers, a lesser concern with family responsibilities than with ties to peers, a glorification of anti-social acts (in the mainstream sense), and the absence of long-range planning or goal seeking in favor of the immediate gratification, all combined with the rejection of most mainstream values.

The Glaser and Ross study found that for those who grow up disadvantaged, making it or not, "success" or the lack of it as an adult depends upon membership in the ghetto subculture to which one has been assimilated.

This study serves as a general reminder that not all disadvantaged people are similar in their motivation, work attitudes and other traits that generally are related to the likelihood of succeeding in the world of work. Thus the underlying rationale for individualization of services: disadvantaged people do differ, as do any other categories of applicants, in their need for particular manpower services. The truly responsive manpower program recognizes these individual differences.

individualization in the manpower strategy are economy, respect for the individual, and results in terms of helping the individual to become employed, or at least more employable.

As we have already mentioned, there have been a number of experiments in recent years with methods by which an individualized approach to manpower services can be developed. The record shows that by and large, these experiments have not been especially successful over the long run, at least in terms of providing excellent services at a reasonable cost. But some exceptional programs seemingly have demonstrated noteworthy success. With the new opportunities provided by CETA, some of the unusually promising approaches to individualized services that have been developed appear worth reconsidering.

How This Sourcebook Can Help

Using the 17 case studies presented below as springboards, manpower program planners and administrators may be able to think about individualization in new ways. Also, since many of these ideas grew out of Department of Labor-sponsored R&D studies, or experiments funded by other agencies, written reports are available that describe in greater detail the procedures developed and results obtained. For those innovations that seem particularly relevant to a given agency's needs and aims, further information thus can be sought that may help in developing a given type of program.

II. Definitions

Before turning to specific ideas for individualized manpower service delivery programs, some basic definitions need to be given in order to guide the later discussion.

Service Components to be Discussed

There are six major points in the manpower development process at which individualization of services might be applied.

(1) recruitment--the methods by which program participants are encouraged to apply for program services;

(2) intake--the procedures for determining eligibility, and then (if warranted) establishing a formal contact between client and program;

(3) assessment--the techniques by which operating personnel (and the participant himself) learn about the participant's particular pattern of personal characteristics, and thus about the special needs or deficiencies that may be addressed by program services;

(4) skill training, basic education, counseling and personal development--the core services (if needed) which attempt to increase the participant's employability in the relevant job market;

(5) placement--getting the participant a job (this may include as a related activity "job development"--working with employers to create more jobs for program participants than previously existed);

(6) follow-up contact or counseling for job holding and upgrading--services after the point of placement to help ensure that the trainee/participant remains employed and advances within his work setting to the degree commensurate with his talents, ambitions and available opportunities.

Individualization is possible at each of these stages, as illustrated in the brief discussions that follow (the case studies will present further examples):

(1) Recruitment. In one sense, recruitment is not a problem for those manpower programs that have more applicants than they have training resources and "slots." In another sense, though, the community has a problem whenever a substantial number of persons within it are unemployed, dependent upon aid, and perhaps can be helped toward employment by available public or community manpower service programs.

At one time, manpower programs such as CEP addressed the recruitment problem through outreach activities in which agency personnel went into the communities where the unemployed were to be found and recruited them through person-to-person contact. In this way, recruitment was aimed at bringing in hard-to-reach persons who have special and identified need for the services of such programs. CEP had resources for those recruited, however, and such relevant resources need to be available to support a recruitment effort.

An example of a self-screening kind of recruitment practice is provided by a 1970 program of the San Francisco Adult Project Office of the California State Employment Service* in which those who attended project workshops also were invited to bring along their friends. Another example is the Tennessee Oak Ridge Training and Technology project (TAT), in which candidates are recruited very selectively for an away-from-home vocational training program, with explicit understanding about their commitments and responsibilities (Training and Technology Project, 1970). Presumably, it would take some fair degree of self-motivation for applicants to express a willingness to leave home for several months to join a training program.

An objective analysis is needed of the responses of people to different recruitment efforts. There are many ways of carrying out recruitment, including knocking on doors, holding community meetings, inviting the help of organizations which are in close contact with certain groups among the disadvantaged, and publicity through the mass media.

In some cases, recruitment may be quite selective, with recruiting agents concentrating on a particular category of person whom the agency feels it has the best chance of serving well, or who is most in need of service. This may increase the effectiveness of agency operations significantly.

One particularly productive agent in recruitment may be the disadvantaged person already working successfully on a job. Such persons constitute a credible and knowledgeable resource to elicit the interest of friends and relatives in either seeking jobs where they are employed or in seeking training that might lead to those jobs. Another productive avenue for recruitment (as already indicated) could be the use of social service, fraternal and other organizations such as the Urban League, SER, and Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC

*Now called Employment Development Department

(2) Intake. Similarly, agency staff who "know where the client comes from" may help make intake a far less threatening experience, and increase the chances that the client will come back to the agency for services. While intake for a middle-class white may involve nothing more than filling out an application form, a given minority group person who can barely read or write needs much more--a flexible, responsive intake procedure and encouragement to continue his relationship with the agency.

(3) Assessment. Individualization of services inevitably entails a diagnostic appraisal of an individual's strengths, limitations, and developmental needs, leading to a specific strategy for personal development. Appraisal needs to be in terms not only of job skills but also basic educational skills and work attitudes. In this connection, there have been promising developments in techniques for the appraisal of the culturally disadvantaged, for whom the usual educationally based diagnostic tests have limited value because of their dependence on school-like tasks and verbal skills. Examples are work sample programs that have been developed and adopted for widespread use within the Employment Service; and the Singer/Graflex Vocational Evaluation System, which also uses job-like tasks for "hand-on-tools"evaluation and work sampling. The Employment Service has devised the Basic Occupational Literacy Test (BOLT) to measure the minimum skills in reading comprehension, reading vocabulary, arithmetic comprehension, and arithmetic reasoning needed for success in a variety of jobs and skill training, and there are several other relatively new assessment tools to assess the learning and achievement needs of enrollees. An excellent summary of these types of assessment techniques is found in Methods of Assessing the Disadvantaged in Manpower Programs: A Review and Analysis, (Backer, 1972).

Case Study #15 in this report describes the potentially valuable role that behavioral assessment could play in determining the assets and liabilities of clients. In behavioral assessment, the primary focus is on individuals' interpersonal skills--skills needed to function in society--that are products of social learning. One way of carrying out behavioral assessment is to present the individual with a series of situational tests in order to elicit needed information. For example, before entering a client into a particular program it would be worthwhile to determine the sort of "contract" he is willing to enter into in order to avail himself of a particular training program. What sacrifice or contribution or learning effort is the individual willing to commit himself to in order to make possible the training program he desires? This sort of contracting, of course, has considerable value beyond simply determining the client's motivational level. It also can contribute to realistic goal-setting and goal-attainment.

Individualization at the assessment phase also can mean selecting particular types of assessment tools for particular disadvantaged clients. The discussion of special assessment methods in Backer (1972) presumes for simplicity of exposition that a "test specially designed for the disadvantaged" (given that it is fundamentally a good test) will do equally well for all those who have similar literary skills, cultural backgrounds, etc. Yet, for one client the very idea of taking a "picture test" may be so demeaning and threatening that, however well presented, a negative and hostile attitude will be evoked. For such a person, more information may be gathered by verbally administering a regular paper-and-pencil test, or even letting him struggle through the written version without complete understanding. Individualization in assessment entails being sensitive and responsive to such patterns of characteristics.

(4) Skill Training, Basic Education, Counseling, and Personal Development. The delivery of manpower training may require not only the acquisition of specific job skills but also work orientation, counseling (including vocational guidance for career decision-making), and training in getting as well as holding jobs. Some disadvantaged clients may need basic education experiences for improving their reading, communication, computation or reasoning skills. Changes in work attitudes may be produced, e.g., through behavior modification techniques and group counseling sessions. Many of the new developments discussed later present examples of individualization in this area; therefore, these will not be discussed further here.

(5) Placement and Job Development. The job market in a community--both present and potential--places realistic limits on the types of jobs for which clients might be trained. The job structure will vary with the mix of economic activity in different communities. The level of employment, its dispersion or concentration, the rate of job formation, migration patterns and many other factors affect potential placement. Particular attention needs to be paid to the entry points in the varied community labor markets.

Individualized job development may entail restructuring of jobs for certain clients, while others will be able to fit comfortably within existing position descriptions. Still others may need a particular mix of supportive services to enable them to accept a placement once they have received training and other developmental services, e.g., assistance in getting proper transportation to the job, or child care for a working mother. Here again, the point is clear: different clients will need different kinds of services in order to actually move them into gainful employment; some will need very little, others a great deal. An optimal manpower program should be prepared to respond flexibly to these needs.

(6) Job Holding and Upgrading. While job placement is normally considered the end of the manpower development process, it is for many program clients only a tentative first step. Some means for individualizing services provided after placement have been explored in Placement and After: A Manual for Coaches and Other Employment Workers, prepared by Gordon and Erfurt (undated).

Disadvantaged Clients

There are at least five major dimensions along which clients from disadvantaged populations vary:

(1) work experience and job skills

(2) work attitudes and aspects of behavioral style seemingly relevant to employability

(3) work-related skills

(4) basic educational achievement level

(5) life situation

These may be distinguished from variations in labor market and general community environment that affect all potential clients of a given manpower service delivery agency. As mentioned above, we will not attempt systematic analysis of labor market and community environment characteristics in the present report.

Variations in work experience and job skills depend, of course, on the past history of the client--what jobs he has held (if any), and what other skills he might have developed outside the world of work (e.g., woodcarving as a hobby). A manpower program may make two major interventions in this area: assessing the present level of client skills, and offering training experiences to increase skills to required levels (or getting the client into a job where he will be trained).

A client's life situation may vary in many ways that bear upon employability potential--the client may be a divorced mother, have a problem child in the home, have a serious criminal record, have no car to take him or her to work, etc. Such reality constraints often can have a marked impact on the client's ability to get and keep a job. Limits in basic educational achievement similarly can significantly reduce a client's employability, particularly for those jobs where educational credentials are entry requirements.

There have been many studies of enrollees in manpower development programs over the past decade, particularly those in programs directed primarily toward the disadvantaged. To provide some general illustrations of the categories of

individual differences mentioned above, the following abstractions are presented (with the obvious caveat that not all disadvantaged persons can be so characterized):

1. The average enrollee will have completed less than high school and his reading, writing and arithmetic skills will generally be appreciably lower than the grade level completed in school.

2. For many enrollees, abstract and conceptual learning has been and will continue to be hampered by living conditions, personal problems, and negative attitudes toward a school-like situation.

3. Many enrollees will be silent and uncommunicative in certain kinds of social contexts. This may be due to shyness or lack of vocabulary as well as dependence on nonverbal means of communication. They may speak either another language or a special idiomatic version of English and take refuge, as well as pride, in their language.

4. Many enrollees will show aggression, acting out, and limit-testing behavior. Many enrollees will have a history of failure and self-doubt. They will have learned that success does not necessarily come with effort and that the social rewards system is biased or somewhat unpredictable.

5. Many enrollees will have conflicting obligations that make demands on their time. This will be particularly true of women with household responsibilities.

6. Many enrollees will have deficiencies in nutrition, or problems requiring medical and dental attention.

7. Many enrollees will have an inadequate understanding of themselves and how to get along with others. This lack of social skills and low stress-tolerance may be the cause as well as the effect of their poor work histories to date.

8. Many will exhibit impulsive behavior patterns and will have to learn to weigh the pros and cons of an action before taking it.

9. The limiting characteristics may be counterbalanced, however, by positive ones, such as:

   (a) Many enrollees have some positive motivation to increase employability or they would not be enrolled in the program.

   (b) Many enrollees are sensitive to habits of speech, dress and other behavior and can modify their behavior when properly motivated and rewarded.

(c) There is some evidence to suggest that not all disadvantaged persons are truly alienated from the values of the rest of society. Many may aspire to achieve the same kinds of things as the rest of society, but they have despaired of attainment through socially sanctioned routes. Therefore, one may not have to change values so much as to try to teach the skills with which to overcome frustration.

(d) Certain enrollees will be high in various intrinsic abilities. They may have both the wit and endurance to cope in their own culture. The task then is to transfer these skills into economic and work contexts.

(The preceding generalizations were adapted from Orientation, Counseling and Assessment in Manpower Programs, U.S. Department of Labor, 1969.)

III. Ideas for Individualization of Services

How This Chapter Is Organized

In this section, we present a number of innovative programs and procedures that have to do with individualization in some respect. Some are from manpower settings; others are not, but seemingly could be applied to manpower service delivery. The programs described mostly are experimental or demonstration efforts sponsored by the Department of Labor. Some of the procedures or ways of thinking about manpower services grew out of DOL-funded research projects; others come from such fields as vocational rehabilitation and education. Each of the 17 programs or procedures is presented in a kind of "case study" format, including an itemized discussion of the ways in which the concept of individualization has been (or could be) employed at one or more levels in the service delivery process.

Some of the programs and procedures involve--or suggest--individualization at several levels. While it would have been possible to discuss recruitment, assessment, placement and so forth as separate topics, doing so might involve obscuring some of the interrelationships among program components. It is for this reason that we have opted for the case study approach, in which all relevant program components for each case are presented together. Often not every category is relevant, so we have simply omitted reference to those for which we have no information, or which do not seem to apply for a given innovation.

As mentioned earlier, we do not suggest that a "good" manpower service delivery program necessarily has to involve individualization in all program components. Some excellent programs may be individualized only in that they restrict entry to certain kinds of individuals. After this initial selection, all clients admitted may receive exactly the same kind of service. However, when a manpower program needs to deal with clients of widely varying personal characteristics, individualization beyond the point of careful selection in relation to what the program can offer becomes much more important. The concepts and techniques presented below should serve as a source of ideas for program operators who either face this kind of diversity or face the need to restrict entry to their specified service delivery capabilities. Again, the basic point of individualization is simple: Clients differ, and an effective service program has to be responsive to these differences or individualize in the sense of restrictive selection. One way to achieve such responsiveness is through a systematic effort to be objectively aware of what can be offered competently, and to individualize the service delivery process.

(NOTE: More information is available for most of these case studies. The most important references for each innovation are presented at the end of the case study; these are also given in the annotated bibliography at the end of this report.)

CASE STUDY: No. 1

NAME: Individualized Manpower Training System (IMTS)

WHAT IT IS: Experimental and demonstration program for training manpower personnel to offer individualized service to disadvantaged clients, funded in part by the U.S. Department of Labor.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

Donna Seay (1972), working at the Southeastern Technical Education Research Center (TERC) in Montgomery, Alabama, is director of what is possibly the most ambitious effort to develop a truly individualized service delivery system for disadvantaged manpower clients. The Individualized Manpower Training System (IMTS) her project is developing is designed to instruct manpower training personnel in the selection and application of remedial instructional material to meet individual trainee needs. The IMTS involves applying concepts and recent developments in individualized training at all stages of the system, from initial diagnosis of training needs through provision of learning experiences to assessment and feedback. The IMTS approach also looks at manpower training from an individual development approach, rather than as a mere grafting of specialized skills onto an individual. IMTS has four broad purposes:

(1) educational--diagnosis and remediation of specific educational deficiencies;

(2) occupational--helping trainees clarify occupational goals and develop appropriate skills and knowledge prerequisite to specific occupational training;

(3) behavioral--detecting behavior patterns which interfere with job success and providing experiences designed to modify them; and

(4) complementary--individual instruction to remedy specific skill and knowledge deficiencies which interfere with effective use of the employment and social service system.

The program includes attention to developing skills such as handling of money, using credit, how to find a job, adequate nutritional habits, safety at home and at work, good health habits, etc. In all of these content areas the basic principles of diagnosis of individual needs and provision of learning modules appropriate to the individual are followed.

It might appear that such intensive training experiences are expensive to offer. As a matter of fact, while capital installation costs may be high in some places, they have been relatively low in others, and in all cases the

cost per hour after initial establishment compares very favorably with other methods of instruction. TERC now has 10 IMTS pilot-demonstration sites in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and California. Among the host institutions are area vocational technical and trade schools, a skills center, a community college, and youth detention centers. In Florida, a consortium of colleges and universities has been enlisted in the effort and has helped to monitor and advise the TERC project.

To date, the IMTS has received extensive field-testing and developmental design work. A number of written guides and tape-slide modules are available to orient and train manpower personnel in the setup and operation principles of IMTS. Individualized instruction is the approach used to train the trainers, as these materials indicate, just as it is the organizing philosophy of IMTS services to disadvantaged manpower program trainees.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Assessment: During the assessment phase, what a trainee knows and does not know in the given area in which training is to take place is diagnosed in terms of specific skill abilities. Proper diagnosis in terms of observable performance is first and fundamental, according to the IMTS approach. Different kinds of tests are available, depending on individual trainee characteristics, and on the type of training anticipated.

Training, Basic Education and Counseling: Under the IMTS system, each trainee has a unique service package prescribed for him individually. This comprises a "course" with realistic objectives, well-defined activities, and materials to correct diagnosed deficiencies. The trainee thus is not taught what he already knows. The prescription is a logical sequence of learning activities related to the kinds of programmed material the student likes to work with best. He learns at his own rate and uses his own experiential background wherever possible. In developing the prescription, attention is given to the individual trainee's motivation and goals. What may be a deficiency for one trainee may not be a deficiency for someone whose goals are different.

In IMTS, individual evaluation is a frequent and continuous process and contains a feedback loop. In a conventional classroom, students may take a test. Then their scores are generally compared to identify who passed and who failed. In IMTS, each person is tested primarily in terms of his own progress and accomplishment, and not those of the group. His mastery, or the correction of a limited range of his own deficiencies, are absolute norms for him. Evaluations are more frequent, and are oriented toward objectives he is trying to accomplish. The individualized evaluation covers only the skills and knowledge the individual learner has studied and practiced.

With frequent evaluation there is immediate feedback concerning what is wrong or right, and why. The trainee's performance at each checkpoint determines whether he should repeat his module of study or advance to the next step. The test does more than just evaluate performance; it is a formative tool that is used to guide the trainee and ultimately will improve his chances of success. In this sense, there are not failure, although some students may progress more slowly than others.

Learning materials are available that can be used independently and are correlated with specific objectives. If individualized instructional programs do not already exist, they may be developed. The form of the individualized materials may vary greatly, e.g., films and other media that lend themselves to independent study.

The trainee determines his own rate of progress. One way of arranging this in some cases is to make a contract with is "learning manager," and then proceed as fast as he can to master each prescribed module. A less able or less motivated trainee will progress more slowly. However, neither person will be compared with the other, but only against his own previous performance. Except for some trainees of very low innate ability (who perhaps need some other types of remedial services), motivation is increased if the possibility of failure is reduced radically. The learning manager does not permit a trainee to "bit off more than he can chew" until he gains enough confidence to take risks and handle the knowledge of his limitations. Initially, the trainee is practically guaranteed success for any effort at all. This initial success breeds confidence and motivation to achieve more.

The trainee's whole program is individually managed. In a manpower program such as IMTS a trainee is engaged in many general areas of study at the same time: basic remedial education; employability and occupational skills development; and related or theoretical instruction. There is usually a strong counseling program and provisions for group interaction activities. All these different areas must be managed to the best advantage for each student. Usually the goal is to permit maximum time in the occupational skill training as soon as possible, with only those loops back into other motivational and instructional activities that are necessary. This demands maximum coordination of counseling and training staff.

REFERENCES:

Seay, D. M. A model program to instruct manpower training personnel in the selection and application of remedial instructional material to meet individual needs. Montgomery, Alabama: Technical Education Research Centers, 1972.

CASE STUDY: No. 2

NAME: Training and Technology (TAT) Program

WHAT IT IS: Experimental and demonstration program for training disadvantaged manpower program clients, funded initially by the U.S. Department of Labor.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The TAT Program (1970, 1973) has been conducted since 1966 by Oak Ridge Associated Universities (ORAU) and the Nuclear Division, Union Carbide Corporation, at the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's Oak Ridge Plant. ORAU is a private, nonprofit educational and research enterprise which is sponsored by 43 colleges and universities in the South. TAT is a manpower development program which combines the resources of industry, education and government to offer skill and technical training to unemployed and underemployed men and women. The program has two components: (1) technical industrial skill training, and (2) training to enhance more general interpersonal (social) skills. A schema of operations is presented in Table 1. The job skills taught in the program are those either generally in strong demand in modern, technology-based industry, or those specifically required by employers hiring TAT graduates.

Results of a recent followup study show that graduates of the program have been employed more than 90% of the time since graduation, or an average 24.6 of a possible 27 months since completing training. The dropout rate averaged 18% by the end of 1972. Most employers (87%) rate TAT graduates, who are young, primarily male and disadvantaged, as average to superior in comparison with other hires. A third of the TAT enrollees are black. While high school graduates comprise over 80% of the sample graduates, reading levels for enrollees between the sixth and eighth grade are common. This record has been achieved at a per placement cost of $4,500, compared with $4,900 for MDTA training.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Recruitment: Recruitment for TAT is intensive and involves distributing informational materials to employment offices and a number of other community agencies. The program is "advertised" to potential enrollees as one suitable only for well-motivated persons who are willing to relocate in order to participate.

Selection and Intake: TAT's operators encourage potential applicants to learn about the program, so that some self-selection will take place. In addition to printed materials, tours of plant training facilities are arranged to permit this. Trainees selected for the TAT program are only those who

Table 1

THE INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT PROCESS-SEQUENCE OF MAJOR ACTIVITIES[1]

Recruitment

Identification of Potential Trainees
- -State Employment Security Offices
- -Program Sponsors

Testing
- -Adult Basic Learning Examination (ABLE)
- -General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB)

Prevocational Training
Tours/Visits/Interviews
Choice of Training Area

Selection

Analysis of Test Data
Personal Evaluation
Priority and Goal Determination

Orientation/Placement in Training

Testing - Level of Related Courses
Rules - Procedures Review
Guidance

Skill and Technical Training

Classroom, Shop and Laboratory Instruction
Trade Related Mathematics and Science
Supportive Services
Legal, health, housing, transportation, financial, family problems, recreation
Guidance and Counseling
- -Group
- -Individual
- -Industrial Behavior

Remedial Education
- -Reading, GED Tutoring

Job Placement

Resume, Record Preparation
Job Interview
Choosing an Offer
Supportive Services

Followup

Initial Job, Wage, Location Data
Six Month Followup, Rating, Increases
One Year Followup, Rating, Promotions
Replacement Assistance

[1]Adapted from a publication of the Training and Technology Project (1973, i).

are willing to move to Oak Ridge for their training, and trainees also have to be willing to move out of their home area, if necessary, when placed on a job. Personal interviews are used to help identify those who really are motivated. Because scores on tests such as the GATB and the Adult Basic Learning Examination (ABLE) are used as part of the selection process, the most severely disadvantaged persons are not ordinarily included in this program. Both of these factors operate to limit the number of people coming into TAT to those who are both highly motivated to succeed and have a reasonable level of ability and competence as well.

Training, Basic Education and Counseling: According to TAT's operators, trainees work at their own rate of progress in the program until they are certified as job-ready by their training supervisors. This is an important aspect of individualization in TAT. The length of time spent in training varies according to the prior experience, ability, and degree of motivation of the enrollee. TAT's instructors modify their training approach depending on trainees' individual characteristics. Also, specialized assistance such as a professional remedial teacher is available to further individualize the basic training process. Shop training received by program participants is rigorous but, because trainees are systematically observed at work by their supervisor-trainers, difficulties they experience are identified early and can be responded to flexibly. In short, the combination of continuing appraisal of trainee progress and the availability of many program options means that TAT is highly individualized at this phase.

Placement: Because the TAT program has developed close relationships with a group of employers (AEC contractors and others) whose skill needs are well known to them, a placement network is available that permits matching the particular trainee with different kinds of available job openings. In fact, the training process itself can often be tailored to fit openings that may be available at a given time.

REFERENCES:

Training and Technology Project. Tour, test and interview: A model for recruitment of disadvantaged persons into a manpower training program. Oak Ridge, Tennessee: Author, July, 1970.

Training and Technology Project. A systems approach for industrial training. Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 1973.

United States Department of Labor. A model for training the disadvantaged: TAT at Oak Ridge, Tenn. Manpower Research Monograph, No. 29. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

CASE STUDY: No. 3

NAME: Arizona Job Colleges (AJC)

WHAT IT IS: Demonstration program for the comprehensive rehabilitation of unskilled and semi-skilled agricultural workers and their families, currently funded by several state and federal agencies (including the Office of National Projects, U. S. Department of Labor), and by the Ford Foundation.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The Arizona Job Colleges (AJC) program is intended to rehabilitate wage earners and their families through comprehensive individualized programs that include family management and remedial basic education (when needed) as well as skill training. Each year in Arizona, mechanized agricultural methods eliminate about 700 jobs, thereby displacing many unskilled and semi-skilled workers, most of them coming from minority groups. Lacking the skills needed to move into industrial jobs these Mexican-Americans, Indians and Blacks often find the transition from rural to urban life, from farm to factory, difficult to accomplish and, in the past, more often than not have had to resort to public assistance to live and care for their families. Recognizing that such problems affect entire families as well as the principal wage earners, the AJC operates on a live-in basis with families residing in small houses or trailers and receiving living stipends based on attendance at required sessions. The average stay is for one year.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Selection and Intake: Families are selected on the basis of displacement due to agricultural mechanization and must agree to relocate at the project site and to participate in the program for a minimum of forty-four hours per week. This agreement forms a type of "motivational assurance contract" designed to help select only those families who are likely to complete the program, and thus receive the maximum benefit possible.

Assessment: At the outset of the program, and with positive initial motivation secured, adults are evaluated for work-related aptitudes to determine areas where more intensive individualized training, education and counseling will be needed. A comprehensive orientation program is used to keep participants fully informed of AJC objectives and expectations.

Training, Basic Education and Counseling: Under the AJC program, an educational site close by the living community is used for most aspects of training. There, wage-earners receive intensive vocational retraining based on their individual aptitudes and skill levels. Throughout this phase individualized counseling and tutoring are provided for support on an as-needed basis. In keeping with the AJC concept of total family involvement, individualized education and counseling are provided for other family members. This takes

the form of available training (offered in relation to each trainee's interests and needs) in health, nutrition, recreation, child development, school and community participation, consumer and home management skills, and basic remedial education. In addition, family counseling services are provided to assist in overcoming personal problems during the transitional period.

Followup: Upon completing the AJC program, participants have successfully made the transition to non-agricultural life and have obtained steady work in clerical, mechanical, construction and service jobs at substantially higher earnings than previously. Studies have indicated a remarkably high job retention rate, with less than six percent of a total of 135 families (750 people) participating returning to welfare rolls. Individualized programming for the families of wage earners has borne out the AJC concept that rehabilitation services should go beyond job retraining. Followup studies also show that improvements in health, nutrition, higher academic achievement among children, and increased social and community participation were realized through the program. (Detailed information about program success is available in a report on a 3-year evaluation study conducted by Policy Development Consultants--see reference below.)

REFERENCES:

Rehabilitation, family style. Ford Foundation Letter, March 15, 1974, p. 4

Policy Development Consultants. Evaluation of Arizona Job Colleges. Final Report to U. S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1974.

CASE STUDY: No. 4

NAME: Life Skills Education Model

WHAT IT IS: This program was developed at Teachers' College, Columbia University, under the joint sponsorship of HEW and the New York State Department of Education. An Employability Skills series has been field tested with adult education groups, ex-addicts and ex-offenders, and will be published (Spring 1975) by The Psychological Corporation, New York City.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The Employability Skills sequence is designed to help adult basic education students choose, find, get, and keep a job. Each unit follows a structured, learned sequence based on a four-stage teaching model and is designed to focus on specific employment and career problems faced by the disadvantaged adult learner. Using group methods, it is concerned with changing those behaviors which interfere with getting and holding a job. It is designed to be used flexibly in a specially designed Life Skills Learning Lab where group and individual instruction will take place.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Assessment: Because the Model is directed towards helping the individuals help themselves with employment-related life problems, the assessment phase is highly individualized, and each enrollee is encouraged to assess him/herself at each stage of the learning process and in making occupational decisions.

Training, Basic Education and Counseling: The Life Skills Model individualized training program utilizes a combination of structured group learning experiences and individual counseling. The basic program elements are:

(1) 10 Employability Skills Units for dealing with life problems of enrollees on a group basis.

(2) 4 Basic Problem Areas that interfere with enrollees' abilities to get and keep jobs:

    (a) Choosing a job.
    (b) Preparing for a job.
    (c) Getting a job.
    (d) Holding a job.

(3) Learning Sequence involving a four-stage educational model which:

Stage 1 - presents a significant problem found within the trainee group.

Stage 2 - allows the students to discuss the problem, dignifies what they already know about it, and identifies areas that they do not know about.

Stage 3 - provides materials and situations to increase their knowledge and to try out new ways of doing things.

Stage 4 - requires the student to perform new behaviors to deal consistently with the problem.

Progression through the units and stages is closely monitored and evaluated on an individualized basis. In this way, problems that are experienced by more than one enrollee may become material for group discussion while individual problems not shared by others can be dealt with through immediate, responsive counseling.

REFERENCES:

Adkins, W. R. The Life Skills Education and Teacher Skill Development Project. Final Report 1971-72. New York: Teachers College, 1972.

CASE STUDY: No. 5

NAME: The Comprehensive Manpower Office (COMO)

WHAT IT IS: An experimental attempt to individualize services for three different classes of Employment Service clients, sponsored by the Department of Labor and implemented in some state ES offices.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The Comprehensive Manpower Office (COMO) was based on the concept that individual needs for manpower services differ, and service delivery might be enhanced by tailoring those services to specific and immediate client needs. Clients come to state Employment Service offices with a variety of needs and each client's background, skill level, employment history and personal experience requires different types of services to be successfully placed in a new job. While some attempts to individualize services have been based on an analysis of each and every client regardless of job-readiness, the COMO model recognized that most clients will fall into one of three basic classes, or categories of need: those who are job-ready, those who need training in some specific skill before they can be considered job-ready, and those who need long-term comprehensive basic education, counseling and other supportive services before they can be referred to a job. COMO, then attempted to base the services it provided to clients on their category of need, and marshal available resources to meet those needs.

The COMO program is no longer being implemented, but one innovative aspect of COMO that is currently being developed in Employment Service offices throughout the nation is the Job Information Service (JIS). While clients in need of skill training or extended support services are handled on an individualized basis, job-ready clients usually need only up-to-date, specific information about jobs and their availability: where the jobs are, what they are, and how to apply for them. JIS is a self-service facility that permits these job-ready clients to obtain such job information as they see fit, and minimize the interaction they have with Employment Service staff. ES staff are involved in organization and update of files, bulletin boards and other information resources, such as a Job Bank component.

Most ES offices that are implementing computer-based JIS operations are also implementing some related components that together form a Job Information Delivery System (JIDS). The Handbook for establishing a Job Information Delivery System (U. S. Department of Labor, 1971) discusses three other computer-based components of the system:

(1) Employer Services component that seeks information from employers and encourages their participation in JIDS;

(2) A Job Bank component that lists all available job openings, their requirements, salaries and other pertinent information;

(3) A Labor Market Information component that provides up-to-date inputs for JIS that can assist job-ready clients in their employment search.

The JIS and JIDS components of this group-individualized concept emphasize the creation of resources for clients who are job-ready and need no other manpower services or, in other words, providing minimal services for people with minimal needs, and the establishment of communication links with the employer community.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Selection and Intake: The original COMO program emphasized as much self-selection as possible (in effect, "self-individualization") by clients themselves into one of three levels of service:

- Service I, for applicants who are job-ready and need nothing more than information on where to go to apply for a job.

- Service II, for applicants who are essentially job-ready but need some assistance.

- Service III, for the disadvantaged and other applicants who require extensive help to compete in the job market.

Service I was essentially a self-help operation, so that manpower agency staff could devote their energies to assisting Service II and III clients. Caseloads of agency team working with these clients were limited so that they could provide intensive services to the applicants they did handle.

Placement: Since job-ready clients usually need only current information about job opportunities, it is expected that such clients will be able to actually "individualize" placement for themselves by their practical use of various JIS and JIDS components as they see fit. The final proof, of course, will be in the number of self-placements made through the utilization of information obtained through the system.

REFERENCES:

United States Department of Labor, Manpower Administration. Handbook for establishing a Job Information Delivery System. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

CASE STUDY: No. 6

NAME: Vocational Exploration Groups (VEG)

WHAT IT IS: Experimental program designed to facilitate an individualized learning process for developing appropriate employment techniques and motivation among Employment Service applicants, sponsored by the Department of Labor (Daane, 1972).

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The Vocational Exploration Group (VEG), through small group interactive methods, attempts to draw out the individual's latent job knowledge and experiences, pool it, personalize it, and put it into a format appropriate for group discussion and personal decision-making. Employment Service applicants, including culturally disadvantaged people, often have a considerable amount of knowledge about jobs and where and how to get them. For a variety of reasons--confusion, fear, anxiety, previously negative experiences--this knowledge remains untapped and unused.

The heart of the VEG approach lies in the use of small groups in a discussion format. Once the small group discussions have elicited a substantial amount of information, the trained group leader starts a sequential series of tasks designed to apply the unearthed knowledge to issues likely to confront participants as they seek employment. Results are then applied immediately by each group member to preserve the enhanced feelings of motivation, confidence and job knowledge that the VEG method generates.

VEG appears to be an effective means for stimulating beneficial effects in large numbers of ES applicants by improving job-getting techniques, increasing job knowledge and ability to relate employment demand to their own experiences through an individualized group process.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Training, Basic Education and Counseling: The VEG approach individualizes its focus through the use of highly structured, interactive, supportive small group processes guided by a highly skilled ES group leader. An interesting, innovative and potentially cost-effective aspect of VEG is its short, fast-paced, results-oriented 3-5 hour time span. It is based on 27 sequential steps covering three major areas: individualized learning, sharing of experiences with each other, and exercises based on the experiences of each individual group member. This task sequence is designed to develop individual insights into the nature of jobs (what they are), the expectations of jobs (what they demand), and expectations from jobs (what they give in return).

REFERENCES:

Daane, C. J. Vocational exploration groups: Theory and research. A Manpower Administration project report. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972.

CASE STUDY: No. 7

NAME: Job Agents

WHAT IT IS: A civil service classification, created by the legislature of the State of California as an innovative feature designed to individualize the delivery of manpower services.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The Job Agent classification was a method of individualizing comprehensive manpower services to clients at the service delivery end of the process. It was created as part of legislation aimed at improving overall manpower services offered by the California Employment Service. Although no longer in use, the Job Agent concept represents an innovative attempt to bring the manpower system directly to the client population in a way that may have applicability for other current situations (Hauck, et al., 1974).

As the keystone of a unified manpower services delivery system, the Job Agent classification was structured to achieve individualized Employment Service goals in a new and creative manner through four major areas of emphasis:

(1) Client advocacy: The Job Agent was to be an advocate for his/her clients, making a personalized effort to link clients with resources and help clients find their way through the employment-employer systems.

(2) Job development: Agents worked with employers to develop and structure jobs in which clients would have a chance for success.

(3) Employer negotiation and intervention: Agents monitored clients' progress on the job and intervened on behalf of the client as problems arose.

(4) Client development: Agents took an active role in obtaining assistance for clients in dealing with social, economic, legal educational and skills problems, helping to set up day care and transportation support, and in overcoming employment barriers.

Through this kind of individualization in provision of client-tailored services, plus personal advocacy, it was hoped that clients would get the type and level of services needed with the aid of a single Job Agent who would be their "Personal Employment Service."

Job Agents were required to provide a wide variety of services for clients and had to have a broad range of skills and abilities. Since Agents needed a fairly high degree of competence in many important areas, a comprehensive training program was designed to give Job Agents the necessary background to insure their effectiveness in the following areas:

(1) Development of individualized job training and placement places for clients.

(2) Development and implementation of innovative methods of achieving continued employment for clients.

(3) Provision or development of services needed by clients from the Employment Service or other public and private agencies.

(4) Negotiation and monitoring of agreements with employers.

(5) Evaluation of clients' progress before, during and after employment.

(6) Counseling of individual and groups of clients.

(7) Consultation to employers, community, public and private organizations concerning the problems and solutions of hard-core unemployment.

(8) Training his/her own staff in methods of understanding and assisting the underemployed and unemployed disadvantaged clients.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Training, Basic Education and Counseling: The basic principle of the Job Agent innovation was to provide individualized services through highly personalized interaction between client and Job Agent.

REFERENCES:

Hauck, R. William, et al. An attempt to change a department of State government through legislation: The California Job Agent Program. A final report. U. S. Department of Labor, Contract No. 82-05-70-25. The California State Assembly Office of Research, Sacramento, California, July, 1974.

CASE STUDY: No. 8

NAME: Cleff Job-Man Matching System

WHAT IT IS: An attempt to match up individuals with jobs according to personal job preferences, through development of a universal language for job description and a correlated activities profile that describes applicants.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The Job-Man Matching System (Cleff & Hecht, 1971) is a computer-applicable system designed to match particular jobs with individual applicants for lower skill level blue and white collar jobs. With the goal of a selection system resulting in more stable and long-lasting placements, Job-Man Matching is a technological and conceptual approach that attempts to match applicants, personal characteristics, experiences and activities preferences to jobs that have corresponding work environments and requirements. This unusual and innovative approach to job placement is based on three fundamental assumptions:

(1) People seek out work activities in which they feel they have a good chance of succeeding, and avoid activities where they feel success is unlikely;

(2) Occupationally well-adjusted people--those who like what they do and believe they are doing it well--are more likely to remain employed and perform better than those who are occupationally maladjusted; and

(3) If the content of jobs and characteristics and preferences of people who want to fill those jobs (or who currently fill them) can be described by a common language, then it is possible to match people and jobs in a way that will facilitate successful performance in the jobs.

In order to fully explore and capture all the significant elements of individuals' job needs and the requirements of available jobs so that a common language can be developed for the computerized job-man matching, a multistage process was developed:

(1) An exhaustive analysis of interviews with job incumbents, employers and job seekers resulted in a sample of 2,400 human activities (behavioral units) required on the job.

(2) A primary analysis resulted in a sample of 3,500 behavioral units of work as seen by the people interviewed.

(3) Dimensions of things, people and ideas were explored and categorized through the Self-Interview Checklist (SICL) in which people indicated those units they liked best and least, and which they have done most and least. The SICL produced an activities preference list and a work activities experience list.

(4) A Job Outline Checklist and a Job Card Sort were completed by job supervisors against which the SICL could be compared.

Finally, the computer produced a total of 16 broad dimensions that can be used to match people with jobs that contain a maximum of preferred behavioral and work units and that could result in stable job placements.

The initial results of the Job-Man Matching System have been encouraging. In one study of a hard-core unemployed group of job seekers, six months turnover was reported at 44% for above-average matches as opposed to 78% for below-average matches.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Placement: Computer assisted job-man matching based on assessment data leads to highly individual placement with the Cleff system.

REFERENCES:

Cleff, S. A., & Hecht, R. M. Job matching in the 70's. Datamation, 1971, 17 (3), 22-27.

CASE STUDY: No. 9

NAME: Self-Help Work Units

WHAT IT IS: A concept in which subsidized work training institutions are created to offer individualized experience and skills development to the hard-to-employ.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

Self-help units are vehicles for rehabilitating the hard-to-employ disadvantaged, through subsidized work training to narrow the gaps that exist between the fully sheltered workshop and competitive labor market employment. Experience with training hard-core unemployed people has shown that there is often a big difference between what comes through in traditional training programs and real problems encountered on the job. No matter how thorough or innovative the program, it is difficult to prepare some clients to succeed in the pressurized atmosphere of the job market where they have met with failure in the past; for some, more in the way of total preparation is needed.

Sheltered workshops have been utilized, with varying degrees of success, to employ and train people with physical and mental handicaps. However, these institutions are not designed to prepare people for moving into regular employment. Clearly, there is a need to consider subsidized work training institutions as "halfway houses" that can serve three major functions:

(1) To provide realistic assessment of client strengths and limitations;

(2) To provide work situations in which personal and job-related skills and attitudes can be developed as a means of securing and maintaining employment in the competitive job market; and

(3) To serve as possible terminal placements for those who are unable to move towards jobs in competitive industry.

A good example of this approach has existed in England for some years. There, Industrial Rehabilitation Units (IRU's) emphasize worker responsibility, careful individual assessment, real work situations, production of marketable and useful goods and services, special skills training, personal counseling and education, and the development of social skills. All these factors are individualized to fit the specific needs of each client and are directed toward his/her eventual movement to regular non-subsidized employment.

An American variation of IRU self-help units are those established to assist chronic schizophrenics (Fairweather, Sanders, Tornatsky, 1974), where groups

of clients are either trained for employment or actually work on jobs during the day and live in a group residence where they receive supervision, guidance and support that varies with the employability and other characteristics of the individual clients. In this type of program, clients are paid at rates approaching those of real world jobs whereas sheltered workshop pay usually is low.

In addition to their role as half-way houses for the hard-core disadvantaged, subsidized work training institutions might prove valuable for manpower research and experimentation. They could include employment counselors, researchers and other manpower professionals to conduct field studies on work, its meaning to workers, and new methods of training and development that increase self-respect, income and self-reliance.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Assessment: A major component of the subsidized work training institution concept is that clients are closely monitored on a continuous basis, their performance and development carefully assessed and fed back for support, encouragement and direction. This helps to prepare clients for skill and behavioral expectations they will face when employed in regular jobs.

Training, Basic Education & Counseling: Since each participant's needs are to some extent different, skill training, education and counseling are continuously available on individual and group bases.

REFERENCES:

Fairweather, G. W., Sanders, D. H., and Tornatsky, L. G. Creating change in mental health organizations. New York: Pergamon Press, 1974.

CASE STUDY: No. 10

NAME: Systems Approach

WHAT IT IS: A framework developed by Bates, Gordon and Harrison (1973) for planning individualized manpower service delivery systems that link behavioral assessment with behavioral training.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The term "systems approach" (which may be simply defined as "things which are interrelated need to be studied together") is a familiar one and has been used in a variety of ways in public and private organizations for many years. While the idea is not new, applications of the systems approach for manpower programming that are practical, cost-effective, individualized and results-oriented have been scarce. The systems approach has become a part of the management landscape because if often is highly effective in solving problems that exist within currently operating systems and it is this attribute that might have value in manpower service delivery program planning.

In a manpower application, the systems approach emphasizes the importance of first identifying specific problems that get in the way of achieving manpower goals, and then mapping out strategies to deal with them. To apply this concept, five basic phases of manpower programs have been identified where problems are likely to occur:

(1) Outreach and recruitment;

(2) Intake;

(3) Employability development planning;

(4) Placement; and

(5) Follow-up.

For each phase, objectives are established for clients' behavioral skill needs, and strategies designed in collaboration with individual clients to change those behaviors in a positive, success-oriented way.

To accomplish these goals, the problem-identification and strategy-mapping systems must maintain clear channels of communication and feedback to and from all parties involved. The key concepts here are the setting of agreed-upon objectives for each client's behavioral skill development, and the "feedback cycle" in which the client's progress toward objectives is carefully monitored. Corrective measures are taken swiftly if the client missed the target.

There are also two crucial concepts affecting manpower agency service delivery personnel that have much to do with the success of this approach. The first is the need for a means to provide agency personnel with immediate and current feedback on clients' progress toward objectives, for monitoring purposes. The way in which this feedback is prepared is of little importance, but there must be daily information fed back to the appropriate personnel so that action may be initiated if necessary. The second factor is the need for agency service delivery personnel to have the flexibility and discretion to take appropriate and relevant actions based on the feedback information. Here, responsiveness to client situational needs is of primary importance.

Table 2 gives a brief description of the phase and objectives that the systems approach must deal with in a manpower setting. The systems approach is a powerful management tool that may prove valuable for manpower planners, administrators and managers.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED: See Table 2.

REFERENCES:

Bates, P., Harrison, D. Y., & Gordon, J. E. A systems approach to a taxonomy of the disadvantagement. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Manpower Science Services, 1973.

Phase	Objectives
Outreach	Unemployed and underemployed citizens in the agency's catchment area apply for manpower services.
Intake	A. Establish client eligibility for services.
	B. Successfully (means that the client follows through on the referral) refer ineligible clients to other resources.
	C. Successfully refer eligible client to the next appropriate phase of service (e.g., placement interviewer, etc.).
	D. Elicit information from or about client for assessment purposes to be used as inputs to the service phase to which client is referred (i.e., provide assessment info about the client).
Employability Development	A. Client and worker jointly adopt a statement of employment objectives.
	B. Steps to be taken by client and agency to achieve employment objectives are outlined and jointly accepted by client and worker.
	C. A timetable of significant steps leading toward the agreed upon vocational objectives is jointly adopted by client and worker.
	D. Client is successfully referred to first step toward the objectives (e.g., client referred to orientation, and/or institutional training, and/or direct placement, etc., and follows through on the referral).
	E. Information from or about client for assessment purposes is elicited, to be used as inputs to the next phase to which client is referred (i.e., give orientation leader relevant information about the client and what client needs to achieve the objective which orientation is to serve for him).
Try-Out and Implementation of Employability Development Plan	A. Client reaches goals established according to the timetable, or client goals and/or timetable are revised and client reaches revised goals.
	B. Client successfully referred for placement services.
	C. Information from or about client for assessment purposes is elicited, to be used as input to the placement referral and follow-up processes.
Placement	A. Client is successfully referred to a job consistent with that established as goal.
	B. Relevant information about the client and the placement is passed on to the follow-up worker, for use in monitoring client's behavior in the placement, and intervening in problematic situations.
Follow-Up	A. Confirmed placement after X months of successful employment.
	B. Client has taken appropriate steps toward further career development (e.g., promotion, etc.).

[1] Taken from Bates, Harrison & Gordon (1973), pp. 65-67

CASE STUDY: No. 11

NAME: Job-related Education and Vestibule Training Programs

WHAT IT IS: Individualized methods of training disadvantaged employees of private sector firms through the use of special teaching materials and training methodologies.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The Job Related Education and Vestibule Training Programs (see Glaser and Ross, 1973) represent successful approaches to individualized training of disadvantaged people that have been implemented in three large private sector companies. Recognizing that disadvantaged employees have special needs that differ from job-ready employees, these programs are designed to address such needs while preparing the enrollees to take their places in the regular workforce by directing the program form and content in three major ways:

(1) By making the training relevant to trainees' life situations and experiences;

(2) By developing individualized training strategies based on the individual needs of trainees; and

(3) By letting trainees set their own pace to avoid negative experiences and insure a comfortable level of success.

To achieve these goals, supervision of the training programs is performed by either regular company employees with whom the trainees will eventually be working, or professional trainers skilled in working with people from disadvantaged backgrounds. In both cases, the trainers are people who can understand and relate to the needs, fears and expectations of trainees.

Program results have been good, particularly by the way that training methods help to avoid trainees' fears of revealing their own lack of skills to others, and by the speed with which trainees find themselves moving through the program. Overall benefits derived from these approaches include greater cost-effectiveness through reduced turnover, more effective learning by trainees, immediate training in company production methods, and development of a sense of accomplishment and loyalty among trainees that is often carried over to actual job performance.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Selection and Intake: One firm has, on the basis of prior experience with training disadvantaged people, instituted a program where hiring is

continuous, but limited to small groups of 6-8 weekly, with about 90 people at various levels of the program at any one time. This approach allows for a greater degree of individualized, personal attention for each trainee.

Assessment: The individualized approach is carried through the assessment phase of training through continuous, personalized feedback of an instructive and positive nature, through a combination of trainer, trainee and group assessment and, in the vestibule program, through a structured task-completion orientation.

Training, Basic Education and Counseling: A number of special methods are utilized to tailor training to individual trainee needs in each of the Job-related Education and Vestibule Training programs. The major aspects of these methods are:

(1) Use of individualized teaching materials: one firm encourages trainers to find new (or develop their own) job-related materials that will be directly relevant to trainees' life experiences, interests or needs. Many pragmatic materials were used, such as city and state road maps; mathematics related to personal finances, checkbook balancing, interest on loans, and budgeting; arithmetic and statistics related to team standing in newspaper sports pages or the odds connected with gambling games; and job-related vocabulary.

(2) Informal atmosphere: in two programs, trainees are kept in small groups with trainers keyed to maintain a relaxed, friendly, supportive atmosphere. It was found that this approach enhances the learning process by reducing anxiety, establishing a sense of community among trainees and reducing fears of failure by sharing experiences.

(3) Use of self-generated training goals: in all three programs, trainees were involved from the outset in establishing their training and development goals. In this way they felt as though they had a sense of direction and a strong influence over their destinies. Also, each trainee was able to work at his/her own pace and not be pushed into an anxiety-provoking situation that could result in failure.

(4) Use of task-completion orientation: in the Vestibule Training program, trainees mastered job skills at their own pace while moving to successively more difficult tasks. When a trainee demonstrated an ability to successfully complete one task, he/she was moved to a new vestibule, or "bench," to learn another task. When all tasks were mastered, the next step was on to the actual production line. In this way the trainee was protected from his/her

fears of not performing well, and from the potentially critical attitudes of the regular workforce.

Counseling in each of the programs was available on a continuous basis to any trainee having individual problems not shared by the group of fellow trainees.

Placement: One of the best features of the Job-Related Education and Vestibule Training Programs is that trainees are being groomed for immediate placement with the company. This avoids the problems encountered in situations when trainees must seek employment in the competitive labor market after completion of the training program. A positive employment experience immediately after basic training is a powerful incentive and reinforcer in preventing regression to chronic unemployment.

REFERENCES:

Glaser, E. M. & Ross, H. L. A study of successful persons from severely disadvantaged backgrounds. Los Angeles: Human Interaction Research Institute, 1970. (Summarized in Ross, H. L. & Glaser, E. M. Making it out of the ghetto. Professional Psychology, 1973, 4, 347-356.)

CASE STUDY: No. 12

NAME: Telephone Company Training Program

WHAT IT IS: An individualized training program designed to prepare disadvantaged employees for regular telephone company jobs.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

A northern telephone company has developed an effective "hands-on" approach for training disadvantaged employees that has shown positive results in reducing turnover and improving the quantity and quality of work (See Glaser and Ross, 1973). The program consists of a basic five-step sequence of individualized training components covering personal adjustment problems, field experience, classroom training, career orientation and placement, and integration into regular company jobs. The accent in this program is on personal development through a structured program cycle designed to address the needs of the disadvantaged for counseling, skill training, relevant field experience, employment guidance and positive work experience. At all initial points in the program, care is taken to insure that job and training pressures do not overwhelm social adjustment problems and that participants feel secure in requesting assistance from trainers and peers.

Initial followup studies of trainee groups have shown that turnover rates decreased by 40%, with the expectation that this rate would be further reduced to about 20% as the program is refined. These studies also showed encouraging results with a marked improvement in the quality and quantity of work performed by employees having this special training.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Assessment: Participants receive assessment feedback continuously throughout the program, particularly following the first exposure to field work. At this point, participants are evaluated and directed into a job specialty for additional specific training.

Training, Basic Education and Counseling: The telephone company training program consists of five structured steps that cover technical skills, field work and personal adjustment considerations. In this way, the program takes on a personal, individualized characteristic that is often omitted in training programs that deal exclusively with job-ready or non-disadvantaged employees. The five basic steps are as follows:

(1) Initial pre-job training and orientation consists of technical classroom training at a comfortable pace plus a primary focus on personal adjustment problems to reduce drop-out rates and create an atmosphere conclusive to success.

(2) Hands-on field work is relatively unstructured to reduce the negative influences of job pressures that often are responsible for high turnover among people with problems of disadvantagement. In the field, trainees are given task assignments similar to those found on the job such as replacing drop wires and placing telephone poles. These tasks are closely supervised and the quality of each task is checked before trainees go on to another assignment. Questions that cannot be answered in the field are noted for classroom follow-up.

(3) Trainees return to the classroom for further technical instruction by specially selected training foremen. It is at this point that trainees are directed into job specialty areas based on a careful evaluation of their skills, abilities and preferences. During this three-week classroom activity, trainees stay together in crews.

(4) Each crew is then taken into the field by the foreman who trained them to preserve continuity of instruction and to present trainees with in-depth experience covering a wide range of situations that will be encountered when they are placed in regular positions.

(5) Finally, trainees are integrated into regular telephone company work crews.

Placement: Trainees are placed in regular jobs on an individual basis by their skill levels as determined during the five-step training cycle.

REFERENCES:

Glaser, E. M. & Ross, H. L. Productive employment of the disadvantaged: Guidelines for action. Los Angeles: Human Interaction Research Institute, 1973.

CASE STUDY: No. 13

NAME: Training Decision Paradigm

WHAT IT IS: A model (developed by Fine, 1971) for approaches to decision-making in determining specific types of training to offer manpower clients.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The Training Decision Paradigm is an intellectual framework, or model, designed to help manpower professionals in their decision-making about the types of training programs to offer to manpower clients, based on factors of problem types and resources needed to meet them. This approach links training activities to real world problems experienced by manpower planners, and to the challenges of adaptation faced by clients as they progress through the work cycle. In this way, the Training Decision Paradigm avoids many of the pitfalls of other purely intellectual models by keeping its sights on real problems and basing its approach on practically-oriented solutions.

The Paradigm (see Table 3) has two major dimensions: The various types of problems that arise (the rows in the table); and the steps necessary to meet the particular needs (the columns in the table). The problems causing the occasion for training are categorized into six specific types:

(1) When the disadvantaged worker enters employment;

(2) When the worker transfers to a new position;

(3) When the worker is assigned new duties within a position;

(4) When policy, procedures or programs are changed;

(5) When new knowledge or technical developments must be introduced to the work environment; and

(6) When reinforcement is needed to maintain or restore a certain level of performance.

Matched against these six problem types are four types of training and/or education activities that may be utilized to resolve the problems:

(1) Orientation of a general nature to acquaint the worker with the job, new procedure or changed situation.

(2) Specific skill and content training or education;

(3) Vocational preparation for the worker to provide new skills or remediate old ones;

(4) General education to lay the basic groundwork for success on the job.

The Paradigm provides a systematic approach to making decisions concerning what types of training services to offer, based on the particular need patterns displayed by clients. But it is important to remember that this is only a model designed to give decision-makers in the manpower field a guiding framework. It would require a great deal of revision to meet the needs of different types of manpower agencies.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

See Table 3 for details about how Paradigm offers individualization of services.

REFERENCES:

Fine, S. A. & Wiley, W. W. An introduction to functional job analysis: A scaling of selected tasks from the social welfare field. Kalamazoo, Michigan: W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1971.

Table 3 - Interaction Between Occasion For Training and Type of Training[1]

(Some determinants of frequency of need for specific type/occasion training by direct service workers)

Occasion for training/education	Type of training/education activity			
	Orientation	Specific skill and content (part of a job)	Vocational preparation	General education
1) When worker enters employment	Always needed.	Frequently needed, depending on specificity and relevance of vocational preparation.	Almost always needed for specialist roles. Preparation for generalist roles not so neatly packaged.	Remedial adult basic education usually needed for disadvantaged persons. May be needed by less disadvantaged persons when adaptive and functional demands are high. May be needed less often if methods of training in adaptive and functional skills independent of specific content are developed.
2) When worker transfers to new position	At least a small amount almost always needed, more if new position is very different from old.	Sometimes needed, depending on breadth of vocational preparation, general education, and opportunity for on-the-job learning (very narrow, specific technical vocational preparation may limit receptivity to new skill demands).	Depends on "linkage" between old and new position.	Frequently, if worker career mobility is goal.
3) When worker is assigned new duties within position	At least a small amount almost always needed, more if new position is very different from old.	Sometimes needed, depending on breadth of vocational preparation, general education and opportunity for on-the-job learning.	Usually not (if knowledge base changes enough to characterize training as vocational preparation it would be a new position).	Frequently, if worker career mobility is goal.
4) When policy, procedures, program are changed	Always needed either as training or self-study and depending on sophistication of worker.	Sometimes, depending on whether change involves new knowledge base or new technology.	Sometimes, when change involves new technology, redesign of jobs, or new occupation.	Usually not unless restructuring of jobs or new occupations are involved or if needed to increase adaptive skills to improve receptivity to change.
5) When new knowledge, technological developments must be introduced	Usually not.	Frequently when knowledge is growing rapidly and pressure for system adaptations are strong and if goal is change to improve system performance.	Sometimes, when knowledge growth is extensive and/or new job types are developed.	Frequently needed to facilitate change. Development of adaptive and functional skills in general education at all levels probably facilitates introduction of new knowledge and effective incorporation of new knowledge in daily work.
6) When reinforcement is needed to maintain or restore performance	May be frequently needed if other feedback mechanisms for monitoring performance are absent or ineffective.	Sometimes, or perhaps frequently, depending on nature of skill or content involved and the presence of other reinforcers or counter-pressures leading to skill deterioration or loss of relevant content (most critical in human services when some negative feedback and conflicting feedback is almost always present).	Usually not.	Sometimes, perhaps frequently, needed to help worker resist constricting pressures.

[1] Taken from Fine (1971), p. 38.

CASE STUDY: No. 14

NAME: Individualized Instruction in Education

WHAT IT IS: Individualized instructional and educational systems here seen as potentially major contributors to the achievement of manpower goals.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

Individualized instruction is a method currently utilized in educational systems (Edling, undated) that might have significance in manpower development programs. Educational system goals and manpower goals are quite different, but they do share the common factor of both being learning systems and, thus, one can borrow successfully from the other. While manpower program goals are tied to the world of work, education has greater general relevance to all areas of life, including the vocational. As a learning system, manpower programs might consider utilizing what has been learned through the design and experience of educational systems to enhance client training and development. In general, there are five basic elements that can be applied to manpower situations:

(1) Manpower training should be as client-centered as possible, with plenty of opportunity for individualized tutorial assistance;

(2) Training steps should be explicit and shaped to permit complete mastery by the client before going to the next step;

(3) Clients should receive immediate and constant feedback concerning the quantity and quality of their work;

(4) Clients should be allowed to set their own pace as much as possible; and

(5) The client should, to the extent possible, have a part in deciding the objectives and strategies of his own training program.

Most current manpower programs have both assessment and training components with varying shapes, designs and objectives, but most of them share two key elements: agency personnel learn about the client through the interviews, testing, questionnaires, and the like; and some form of employability development plan and strategy are specified. These are efforts to individualize, to some degree, the services based on needs assessment. From educational systems experience can be derived a set of six management strategies that can make instructional systems more responsive to individual needs and that can be useful in individualizing manpower services:

(1) Aspiration Management: determines the extent to which each client's goals will influence the learning steps to be pursued;

(2) Achievement Management: controls the frequency and utility of feedback given to clients for correcting deficiencies;

(3) Prescriptive Management: clients often control the final decisions only after they are provided with input from agency staff as to the most efficient and effective learning sequence for him/her as an individual;

(4) Motivation Management: influences the intensity of the client's involvement in the learning process, by using various methods of positive reinforcement for successful accomplishment of tasks and objectives;

(5) Enrichment Management: where the client is able to study in depth certain portions of the training program that are of particular personal interest; and

(6) Maintenance Management: influences the extent to which the client will be able to retain knowledge and skills gained through the initial training sequence.

To implement training and development programs that are designed around ideas such as those listed above requires a mix of specific types of individualized instruction:

(1) Individually diagnosed and prescribed instruction: in which the agency determines suitable strategies for clients to meet appropriate, individualized learning objectives;

(2) Personalized instruction: in which the client selects objectives and the agency prescribes the strategy to be used in attaining those objectives; and

(3) Independent study: in which the client selects both the objectives and strategy to be implemented.

Experience in developing applications of individualized instructional systems outside of a formal academic environment has been encouraging. In one program run by the armed services, students are assigned behavioral objectives and proceed at their own rate, with minimum assistance from the instructor, until learning objectives are met. In comparable program from the civilian sector, five basic elements of learning are used: (1) educational objectives are organized into modules; (2) learning units are designed to help the students attain the objectives; (3) there are systematic evaluation procedures at the end of each module; (4) guidance and individual planning are available

throughout the program; and (5) a computer is used to keep track of students progress in guidance and planning procedures. All five elements involve a large degree of program tailoring to individual students' needs.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Details for this complex case are contained in the basic description.

REFERENCES:

Edling, J. V. Individualizing instruction: A manual for administrators. Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State Systems of High Education, undated.

CASE STUDY: No. 15

NAME: Behavioral Assessment

WHAT IT IS: A technique for assessment of disadvantaged manpower clients that focuses on behaviors that influence job performance.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

Behavioral assessment is an approach to evaluating disadvantaged manpower clients based on observable behaviors that have an important effect on job performance and success. Many clients have had negative work experiences not because they were unable to do the job tasks, but because of other behavioral factors that "got in the way" of and overshadowed actual performance. Traditional methods of psychological assessment focus on general personality traits. Behavioral assessment techniques, on the other hand, look at the client from the "outside" as well as the "inside" to see what types of behavior are positive and negative, and what might be done to help overcome the negative ones so that the chances for success will be maximized.

As an alternative or complementary assessment tool to more traditional methods, the behavioral approach resembles work sampling techniques currently used in some manpower development systems. Over the years, a common problem faced by employers of disadvantaged clients has been that the clients did not necessarily perform work tasks poorly, but that poor behavior patterns--punctuality, attitudes towards supervisors and co-workers, resentment of authority, ability to communicate--were responsible for failure on the job. If it were possible to define, evaluate and make clients aware of these behaviors, it might be possible to help clients overcome them. The Behavioral Assessment method attempts to do just this and answer some very practical questions at the same time, such as: Can the client follow directions? Is he/she capable of answering a want-ad or using the telephone? Is he/she able to forego immediate job satisfaction for rewards that can only be obtained after a period of time? Can he/she learn to handle anger and frustration on the job? Another way to state these questions is in the form of general categories of job-related behavior that could be assessed, evaluated and corrected if necessary:

(1) Acceptance of normal and appropriate work rules;

(2) Ability to get along with co-workers in a reasonable and friendly manner;

(3) Degree of anxiety or comfort with supervisors;

(4) Ability to cooperate with others on work tasks;

(5) Ability to organize personal efforts and work tasks.

(6) Response to pleasantness and unpleasantness in the work environment.

(7) Ability to understand and follow instructions and communicate with supervisors; and

(8) Self-presentation.

For behavioral assessment to be effective, explicit definitions of the various behaviors to be worked with are needed, along with examples of specific target behaviors. Table 4 presents two such examples: one conceiving a client's ability to profit from instruction or criticism, and other for the client's anxiety or comfort with supervisors (taken from an SRS-supported project at the University of Wisconsin). Once these and similar behavior definitions are made, various behavioral assessment techniques can be used to help disadvantaged clients assess themselves and each other, evaluate and correct behavior that could jeopardize their chances for success on the job. Techniques that might prove valuable include role playing, role modeling, simulating conditions encountered on the job, and so on. Behavioral assessment offers an alternative, pragmatic, action-oriented approach that covers a different dimension from traditional methods of personality assessment.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Assessment: In several behavioral assessment programs, various techniques have been used successfully. These are based on definitions of target behaviors, as illustrated above, might be useful in manpower training programs.

(1) Self-assessment is a key element because it carries a far greater impact with the individual client, particularly disadvantaged individuals who may have had negative work experiences who often fail to understand that it is not only the "system" that has caused their failure but also their own behavior.

(2) Role playing and modeling appears to be effective because it prepares the client for different types of job-related situations and also enables him/her to obtain valuable feedback in a non-threatening, supportive atmosphere.

(3) Construction of simulated work situations is another method that has had success. This goes beyond role playing in that situations are created that are closely analogous to those the client will actually encounter on the job, either in the present or future. Having identified the situation, it would be possible to act out the behavioral aspects that would be positive and negative so the client could see the effects of his/her behavior in the given situation and, hopefully, to correct inappropriate behavior.

Table 4 [1]

DEGREE OF ANXIETY OR COMFORT WITH SUPERVISOR

This area refers to the degree to which the client is able to prevent his work from suffering because of anxiety occasioned by contact with, or even the physical presence of, floor supervisors. The less that supervisory presence is itself the occasion for discomfort or anxiety, the more promising the client's vocational future.

CUES:

The Client...

Requests help in a consistently appropriate fashion
Stops to slow down work when the supervisor approaches
Shows a minimum of body tension when approached
Becomes less well organized in supervisor's presence
Accepts criticism without becoming upset
Attempts to avoid supervisor by looking away
Shows no change in behavior when supervisor approaches
Behaves obsequiously with supervisor
Improves performance when shown how
Fails to request help at all

ABILITY TO PROFIT FROM INSTRUCTION OR CRITICISM

This area refers to a client's ability to demonstrate his understanding and his acceptance of supervisory criticism by behaving as instructed and maintaining any change in behavior that was occasioned by these criticisms or instructions. Criticisms and instructions may be made in any area of functioning in the work situation. They may deal, for instance, with work organization, methods for doing a task, ceasing to speak with co-workers, getting own materials, or whatever.

CUES:

The Client...

Changes work procedures correctly and maintains correction
Shows little or no verbal or physical response to comments
Asks appropriate questions if he fails to grasp instructions
Continues to work with a method just criticized
Listens to instructions or criticisms attentively
Returns to old procedures after supervisor leaves his side
Improves performance in area criticized
Argues with supervisor over instructions
Maintains changes in behavior
Excuses behavior or performance persistently when criticized

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[1]Taken from a publication of the Materials Development Center (1972, unpaged).

(4) The use of feedback mechanisms such as videotape, recordings, films or verbal feedback from both peer groups and trainers is crucial. In many cases, this feedback is the first time clients have ever really seen themselves as they behave on the job and the experience, while revealing, can be couched in a supportive and positive environment that encourages self-criticism and change.

REFERENCES:

Materials Development Center. Observation and client evaluation in workshops: A guide and a manual. Menomonie, Wisconsin: Department of Rehabilitation and Manpower Services, 1972.

CASE STUDY: No. 16

NAME: Behavioral Training

WHAT IT IS: An approach to developing individualized behavioral skill training programs to deal with job-related behaviors that may keep manpower clients from successful transition to employment.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

Behavioral training is a method of applying individualized behavior modification techniques to the needs of many disadvantaged manpower clients for improved job-related skills. Once these needs are assessed and defined (see Case Study #15), they easily can be translated into specific behavioral skills that can be taught to clients in an effort to help them overcome those aspects of behavior that often get in the way of success on the job. But not all clients need training in all behavioral skills and many clients would probably respond negatively if forced to endure training in skills they have already mastered. With individualization as the major goal, specific behavioral skills can each be the focus of a training program component, and clients can take only those components where a real need exists.

Behavioral training, like assessment, aims at target behaviors that are dysfunctional in any work environment: negative attitudes towards supervisors and co-workers, poor grooming habits, non-punctuality, negative peer relationships, tendencies toward violent or illegal behavior. Behavioral training focuses on dysfunctional behavior tendencies, not on work tasks that traditional skill training can address. Each of the behavioral training components is built around developing a single attitude-skill or group of related attitudes-skills, and is presented in a positive, supportive manner. Each client takes particular components because he/she would benefit from acquiring the needed attitudes and skills.

If the assessment phase has been successful, clients have had the chance to engage in self-critique and received peer group feedback about their behavioral deficiencies. The training phase then takes over and uses many of the same techniques as in assessment: role-playing and modeling, simulations, videotape and other audio-visual aids, counseling, coaching and lectures.

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Training, Basic Education and Counseling: The specific behavioral skill areas unearthed in assessment and used as key elements on which to build training components. Some examples of specific components might include the following:

(1) How to ask questions and obtain directions concerning an assigned job task;

(2) How to say "No" to an unreasonable request:

(3) How to resist peer pressures to either quit work or a training program;

(4) How to use the telephone to get or give information;

(5) How to insist on one's rights without being abrasive;

(6) How to communicate information to employers, such as calling-in if illness or family problems prevent a worker from coming to work on a given day;

(7) How to ask questions and listen understandingly to another person's perception or viewpoint before indulging in angry behavioral response;

(8) How to know what the grooming standards of a place of employment are.

An example of behavioral training is Operation Pathfinder (Mentec, 1972) where employers become involved in helping hard-core disadvantaged clients and juvenile parolees develop long-term job stability characteristics in real job settings. Using behavior modification techniques, supervisors of these clients were trained to use social reinforcement methods to change client work habits and job-related social behaviors. A three-year trial program showed that behavioral training techniques resulted in longer job retention, less absenteeism and tardiness, greater productivity and work quality, and fewer encounters with law enforcement personnel.

REFERENCES:

Mentec Corporation. Operation Pathfinder: Shaping work behavior of ex-offenders and other disadvantaged people using social reinforcement techniques. Final report. U. S. Department of Labor Contract No. 82-05-70-05. Los Angeles: Author, April 1972.

CASE STUDY: No. 17

NAME: Personalized Salvage of Failing Trainees

WHAT IT IS: Special training program for Naval radio officers, providing a combined focus on: (1) trainee commitment; (2) careful selection of candidates seemingly qualified for a given type of training; (3) analysis of individual learning blocks manifested during training; and (4) personalized remedial attention for the diagnosed learning blocks.

BASIC DESCRIPTION:

The dual importance of commitment by trainees and provision of individualized services can be re-emphasized by an example drawn from the personal experience of one of the authors (Glaser, 1973):

> ...during World War II, a serious bottleneck developed in the insufficient supply of men being graduated from the schools set up to train Maritime Service radio officers needed to man Liberty ships. Sixty-six percent of the trainees were flunking out, failing to pass the final examination for second class radio-telephone license.
>
> I was a navy psychologist/communications officer at the time, and was sent to investigate the problem. After some days at the school observing...I developed a hypothesis...that a large percentage of these men were flunking out purposely, because if they passed they expected to be sent to sea immediately, and at that time, a considerable number of ships were reported torpedoed each week. ...I was able to have a ruling announced by the Bureau of Naval Personnel that anyone who flunked out of radio school would forthwith be sent to sea as an apprentice seaman...Result: with no other training program change of any kind, attrition was cut immediately from 66 percent to 34 percent! Then other changes were introduced...These efforts gradually brought attrition down to an average of about 17 percent.
>
> A final experiment was to assume that since every student now selected did in fact have aptitude or potential capability to pass the course, almost no one should fail. Thus, whenever a student began to show signs of having difficulty with the course, he was given individual attention, coaching and counseling by his instructors. The instructors were given training in how to listen for minimal cues, and their class loads were lightened to permit more time for individual coaching-counseling.
>
> Through listening to the problems expressed by each individual who was offered personalized, concerned attention, and analyzing what

appeared to be giving him trouble in the course, how he went about studying, etc., we learned that some trainees were worried about serious personal problems (major illness of a wife or family member, receipt of a "Dear John" letter, etc.) which interfered with concentration on the training curriculum. These problems often could be handled by arranging a leave to go home for a week or so, then return to school. In other cases we found that some trainees were able to learn much better by visual means, some by auditory, some by kinesthetic. Through rearranging the curriculum for these individuals to mesh with the way they seemed best "wired up" to learn, most overcame their difficulties, caught up with the pacesetters, and passed the final examination for 2nd class radio-telephone license.

Through such procedures, attrition was brought down to an average of five percent...(pp. 232-234)

HOW INDIVIDUALIZED:

Training, Basic Education and Counseling: Here, the commitment to succeed was introduced externally, but very real; both selection and training efforts were restructured to take account of individual differences in potential trainees. In addition, individual tutoring or counseling was provided for any trainee who was experiencing difficulties.

REFERENCES:

Glaser, E. M. Improving employability--directions and suggestions. In Orr, D. B. (Ed.) New directions in employability. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.

IV. Where Next? Implications for Policy and Action

What Prime Sponsors Can Do

Perhaps a key thing that prime sponsors can do in relation to manpower service delivery for their constituents is to undertake some relevant fact-finding. That would include taking systematic stock of the categories of persons who need service, determine the resources already in existence to provide those services, assess the efficacy with which present arrangements meet the needs, note any existing deficiencies, then creatively think through what might be set up within potentially achievable resources and capabilities to close the gaps. The ideas and case examples provided in this report might, it is hoped, contribute to that creative "think through."

Needed Research and Development Work

a. More long-range research and development studies are needed concerning aptitudes, abilities, personalities, and motivations of clients that influence their success in training programs, in getting jobs, and in holding them. In fact, distilling what has been learned from studies already carried out on these questions--which is beyond the scope of this paper on individualization--would seem very worthwhile. Concomitantly, more research is needed to identify manpower programs which do succeed unusually well in getting enrollees to complete the training, and in enabling them to find good jobs upon completion, analyzing the factors which seem to account for this relatively high degree of success, and determining whether those factors are transferable to less effective programs, perhaps through technical assistance provision under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Such research is needed in order to improve other training programs and make them more responsive to the needs of clients. It should be kept in mind, though, that pay-off from such research may not materialize for some years, and factors that determine job placement can be expected to vary as a function of the type of program, the locality, and general job market conditions.

b. Of more immediate and direct application is research on grosser variables, which when combined might yield a practical scale of employability. Such a quantitative index would give weight to variables such as the following:

    1) previous employment record;

    2) reasons for losing or leaving jobs in the past;

    3) educational achievement level in given subject areas, such as reading, arithmetic;

4) vocational skills;

5) reason client is being served by the agency (is he self-referred? was he referred by another agency? was he enrolled because of efforts of outreach services?);

6) stated goals and objectives of the client;

7) having or not having a prison record; and

8) work-related behavioral assessment score.

Some developmental work along these lines already is underway, for example, with the Richardson, Bellows and Henry Biographical Information Blank.

Two basic questions derive from emphasis on the concept of employability. One is technological, the other relates to policy and planning. The technological question pertains to the assessment of employability. The coarse tripartite system used in COMO seemed a definite improvement over previous approaches. However, it should be possible to develop a more refined categorization, one that might have perhaps 5-8 client groups.

As important as the decision to measure employability is how this task can best be accomplished. This report has stressed the potential value of behavioral assessment for improving the effectiveness of manpower agencies. In behavioral assessment, individuals' response repertories are sampled with regard to specific work-related behaviors that are either present or absent. This type of assessment blends logically into the training domain, with efforts being directed toward overcoming response deficits and capitalizing on existing aptitudes and other strengths. The aim of behavioral assessment is not global personality description, but accurate determination of what the enrollee is and is not capable of doing in relation to a job. Research is needed to construct behavioral assessment paradigms that can be used widely and to compare this type of assessment with more traditional approaches. Techniques such as role-playing, and simulations involving modeling, should prove useful in shaping behavioral assessment programs.

Concluding Comment

This paper has been concerned primarily with ideas, and with some actual experiences in experimental and demonstration programs that bear upon these ideas. Both the ideas and the experiences have to do with how it is possible for a manpower development program to offer its clients the services they need, and only those services.

Full individualization of services in manpower or other service delivery systems is an ideal, of course, to which real programs can only be an approximation. In fact, we should note that only a certain amount of individual tailor-

ing is really necessary--clients or categories of clients are not without their common characteristics, and many of them may indeed be best served by the same package of interventions. For many clients, the manpower program need do little more than serve as an employment agency broker between available jobs in a community and persons assessed as seemingly willing and able to fill given jobs.

Nevertheless, the innovations and concepts presented here offer some demonstrably productive ways, albeit in particular situations and circumstances, of better meeting the needs of clients who do not fit some ready-made mold. To the extent that a technology of individualized treatment can be developed, and resources are available to support the replication of certain seemingly effective, well-planned and well-implemented service systems, what has been reviewed here has much promise for improving the employability development and placement services offered to disadvantaged Americans in the 1970's.

Perhaps another "lesson" from a number of these case descriptions is that given service programs may be equipped to most effectively render services only to certain categories of clients, and should limit their intake to those categories. Otherwise, the program may dissipate its limited resources. But, this does not obviate the necessity for individualized treatment: the ideal manpower program seeks to review perceptively all aspects of an applicant's total life situation that seem relevant to service delivery. Then the individual can be encouraged to obtain the particular service or integrated set of services likely to lead to appropriate and sustained employment--at least to appreciably greater employability.

If the given program is not equipped to provide all needed services, it should be equipped at least to recognize what does appear to be needed and make a referral to some other agency that can effectively provide the required services.

References with Selected Annotations

Listed below are all of the bibliographic references for material cited in this report, plus a small number of additional citations for further reading. Annotations have been provided for material that might be of particular interest to readers of this report.

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Report on the Life Skills Education model. Ten Employability skills units were developed and tried out on a sample target population. These units are designed to develop appropriate coping behaviors in enrollees to promote success in training and work settings.

Backer, T. E. Methods of assessing the disadvantaged in manpower programs: A review and analysis. Washington, D. C.: Manpower Administration, Department of Labor, 1973.

A review and evaluation of current assessment techniques of potential use with the disadvantaged in manpower programs. Limitations of traditional tests are pointed out and examples of innovative approaches are given, along with recommendations for future R&D work. An extensive list of instruments and annotated bibliography of relevant literature are presented. (MA)*

Bates, P., Harrison, D. Y., & Gordon, J. E. A systems approach to a taxonomy of disadvantagement. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Manpower Science Services, 1973. (MA)*

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Cleff, S. A., & Hecht, R. M. Job matching in the 70's. Datamation, 1971, 17 (3), 22-27.

An attempt to develop a universal language for describing jobs and a correlated activities profile to describe applicants. Sixteen Work Dimensions are identified and used to match applicants and jobs.

*MA=available from Office of Manpower Research and Development, U. S. Department of Labor.

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Study to identify differences between the disadvantaged man who has been able to begin the pull upward in job or education, and functioning in society without public assistance; and the disadvantaged man who has not.

Glaser, E. M., & Ross, H. L. Productive employment of the disadvantaged: Guidelines for action. Los Angeles: Human Interaction Research Institute, 1973. (MA)

Goodale, J. G. Effects of personal background and training on work values of the hard-core unemployed. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, 57 (1), 1-9.

A study of differences in work values between a group of disadvantaged persons and a group of unskilled or semiskilled employees. According to the study findings, changes in work values after eight weeks of NAB training were minimal. A basic problem is that the training is for routine, unstimulating jobs while trainees are told that work should be intrinsically rewarding.

Goodman, P. S., Salipante, P., & Paransky, H. Hiring, training and retraining the hard-core unemployed: A selected review. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, 58 (1), 23-25.

Studies indicate that certain characteristics of the hard-core unemployed and certain characteristics of the supervisory and counseling roles and their occupants are related to turnover. Although training does not seem to affect termination rate, it has both functional and dysfunctional effects on work attitudes. Job structure, pay level and other occupational variables are related to turnover.

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Reports the results of a survey of 500 applicants to the Newark Employment Service Office. Employed six Motivation to Work questionnaires discriminating between employed and unemployed and between the various MDTA categories (completed training, rejected, dropped out, never contacted). Results for employed vs. unemployed were as expected but MDTA responses were difficult to interpret.

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Lewis, M. V., Cohn, E., & Hughes, D. N. Recruiting, placing, and retaining the hard-to-employ. University Park, Pennsylvania: Institute for Research on Human Resources, the Pennsylvania State University, 1971. (MA)

A detailed evaluation of a Concentrated Employment Program. Contains thoughtful suggestions for the improvement of manpower programs.

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Describes a study of attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge of NYC enrollees about work, employers' expectations, etc. that would effect transition from training to work. Through interviews it was found that NYC enrollees were expecting more stringent work rules than actually existed. They also expected they should have more skill than employers thought necessary. The NYC program might work to modify these beliefs so that enrollees can reduce their fears about employment.

Mangum, G. L., & Walsh, J. A decade of manpower training. Manpower, April 1973, 5(4), 20-26.

A summary and evaluation of the outcomes of MDTA from 1962 to 1972. Recommends a career education approach and more flexibility to provide for individualized approaches.

Materials Development Center. Observation and client evaluation in workshops: A guide and a manual. Menomonie, Wisconsin: Department of Rehabilitation and Manpower Services, 1972.

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Discusses further applications of the work sample technique in business and industry, education and social services, although rigorous predictive validity studies would have to be done first. Suggests using work samples to evaluate the success of training programs and in education as a means of determining the appropriate secondary school.

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Describes methods and tests used at the Training and Technology Project, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, to evaluate whether a candidate will profit from training. Workable procedures for recruiting disadvantaged persons for training include (1) encouraging applicant to learn as much as possible about a program before he is appointed, (2) collecting and evaluating pertinent information about each potential trainee, (3) selecting applicants via a selection team comprised of the Employment Service, training supervisor, a trainee services staff member, and a representative of the sponsor agency.

Training and Technology Project. A systems approach for industrial training. Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 1973.

United States Department of Labor, Manpower Administration. Orientation, counseling and assessment in manpower programs. MDTA Experimental and Demonstration Findings No. 5. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969. (MA)

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Walther, R. H. The measurement of work relevant attitudes: A report on the development of a measuring instrument. Final Report. U. S. Department of Labor Contract No. 41-7-004-09. Washington, D.C.: George Washington University, Manpower Research Projects, October 1970.

Describes three stages of instrument design and analysis. The Work Relevant Attitudes Inventory has been reduced from 72 items to 26 items by eliminating items on each testing that did not contribute to the test factors of Optimism, Self-Confidence and Unsocialized Attitudes. The inventory appeared to discriminate between various employment classifications and predicted some chosen outcome criteria. After further refinement this instrument might be used in diagnosis, evaluation and program planning.

Wenig, R. E., & Wolansky, W. D. Review and synthesis of literature on job training in industry. Ann Arbor, Michigan: ERIC Clearinghouse on Vocational and Technical Education, 1972.

After reviewing the literature on the nature and extent of job training in industry, the authors synthesize their findings under five categories: (1) strengths and weaknesses of job training, (2) linkage between vocational education and job training in industry, (3) job training needs, (4) needed research by industry on job training for industry, and (5) current trends in job training. (75 item bibliography, mostly from 1965 to 1971)

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The educational system should be as responsive as possible to the needs of the individual student. A system is responsive whenever some part of the instructional sequence can be modified to accommodate the special needs of an individual student. This volume attempts to criticize such principles through description and interpretation of various demonstrations in school settings.

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An up-to-date report of placement success in the TAT project.

Appendix

Some Research on Work Attitudes and Work Skills

Following is a synopsis of some important recent studies about work attitudes, work skills, and how they relate to the general concept of employability as developed by several theoreticians. Because these studies are somewhat academic in nature, they have not (at least as yet) led to the kind of practical outcomes--usable procedures and programs--that characterized the 17 case studies given earlier. It is for this reason that we have chosen to present the following material in an appendix rather than in the text of the report.

Work Attitudes

Although there has always been an emphasis in manpower programs on specific skill training of disadvantaged clients, it has become more and more apparent recently that work attitudes and skills not specific to performance (the latter are discussed in the next section of this chapter) can have an important bearing on employability.

For example, Roessner (1971) has reported the results of a survey of employers of persons in the WIN program. The employers, while obviously not unmindful of the importance of job performance and skill, gave primary emphasis to the WIN employee's work attitudes and adherence to standards not related to job performance per se:

> One significant finding of this study is that supervisors are much more likely to fire an employee because he deviates from work rules or evidences inappropriate work attitudes than because he does not perform his job adequately. This finding suggests that the problem of high turnover among disadvantaged workers may be better explained in terms of inadequate preparation for the kinds of rules and behavioral expectations in organizations dominated by middle-class superiors, than in terms of inadequate (from the supervisor's perspective) levels of skill, vocational training, job experience, or education among the disadvantaged.
>
> The expectations of employers and the bases for WIN employee satisfaction suggest the existence of a paradox--or, at least a set of potentially noncomplementary desires on the part of employers and WIN employees. On the one hand, the primary basis for employer satisfaction with--and recruitment of--employees is not job performance and skill level, but employee attitudes, personal appearance, and behavior. On the other hand, WIN employee job satisfaction and retention is based primarily on the nature of the job task itself, so that skill training (or the specific job) is of central importance (pp. 180, 189).

Indeed, differences in work attitudes often are felt to be part of what may be called a "culture of poverty" that distinguishes the severely disadvantaged from the mainstream of society. According to this concept, virtually all poor people have a different system of values from that characteristic of the middle class. The most frequently mentioned psychological themes in literature concerning the culture-of-poverty concept are: strong fatalism and belief in chance; strong present-time orientation and short-time perspective; impulsiveness, or inability to delay present gratification or to plan for the future; concrete rather than abstract thinking processes and concerte verbal behavior; feelings of inferiority; and acceptance of aggression and illegitimacy. To deal with such observations about persons categorized as coming from the "culture of poverty" would take us far beyond the scope of this paper. We will restrict ourselves here to attitudes about the world of work as they are likely to eventuate in some sort of behavior while on the job.

There is inconsistent evidence about whether the work attitudes of disadvantaged people really differ from those of the middle class, though the bulk of presently available research suggests that at least some differences important for manpower program personnel to consider do exist. Goodwin (1972) provides a dissenting view based on his research. Goodwin advances the conclusion that the work orientation of poor people does not differ significantly from that of members of the regular work force. In his study, the work orientation of WIN trainees at various WIN Centers was compared with those of persons already integrated in the work force, using a multiple-choice questionnaire. Findings from Goodwin's analysis of some 3,400 questionnaires (some self-administered and others verbally administered by an interviewer for subjects with low literacy skills) indicate that people on welfare who are in the WIN program have much of the same dedication to work as those from the regular work force.

Goodale (1973) and a number of other researchers, however, have found differing results. The objectives of Goodale's study were to measure the differences between work values of newly hired hard-core disadvantaged employees and those of other newly hired workers in similar jobs, to identify background characteristics related to work values, and to detect changes in work values as a function of orientation programs. Results showed that the hard-core subjects scored lower than the comparison group in activity preference, pride in work, upward striving, and conventional work ethic. Subjects were higher in attitude toward making money on the job, a finding consistent with the Columbus, Ohio CEP study (Lewis, Cohn & Hughes, 1971). These differences suggest that the disadvantaged work primarily for money. In this they may not be so different from the already employed. But to those without money, its lack is more keenly felt. Patterns of work values were found to correlate with background variables such as age, years of work experience, marital status, incidence of trouble with police, employment of the father, educational level of the parents, etc. In general, the closer the individual's background was to that of the typical middle-class economically stable person, the "better" was the score on the work values profile.

In other research, Indik (1966) found that scores on a measure of work motivation were significantly (though not highly) related to success in training and placement for a sample of MDTA trainees. Walther (1970) developed a test measure of certain work-related attitudes (optimism, self-confidence and unsocialized attitudes with respect to the world of work) that may bear on the work adjustment problems of disadvantaged youth. Mandell, Blackman and Sullivan (1969) found that NYC enrollees had unrealistic expectations about the world of work. Wolf, Feingold and Jackson (1971) reported that manpower program trainees who successfully make the transition from training to stable employment are among those having both the strongest attraction to work and the greatest perception of the difficulties associated with work.

There have been studies of other psychological dimensions along which disadvantaged people as a group are presumed to differ from those in the mainstream culture. These will not be reviewed in any detail here, though many of them do have some relevance to work attitudes. Just as one example, Miskimins and Baker (in press) have reviewed studies of the self-concepts of disadvantaged people. These researchers found that on psychological indices disadvantaged persons display a number of self-concept problems. The disadvantaged who cannot be placed in jobs differ in their levels of psychological maladjustment and in self-esteem from those who can be placed. They also feel more self-derogation; this seems especially true among women. In some cases, Miskimins and Baker found that self-derogation seems to go along with a seemingly exaggerated display of self-esteem, the latter possibly interpretable as a defensive reaction to self-derogation.

In another recent study (Sontag, Hansen, Hillsman, and Etzioni, 1971) an attempt was made to measure "tolerance for bureaucratic structure." The assumption was made that a great deal of modern work is bureaucratic in nature and requires the individual to conform to arbitrary and externally imposed demands not only by the job but also by the organizational structure. In this study, measures were obtained in four areas: attitude toward rules and regulations, attitude toward authority, orientation toward tasks, and orientation toward delaying gratification. A total score, representing tolerance for bureaucratic structure, was found to correlate significantly, though not highly, with ratings by supervisors of job performance, particularly in the areas of effort, initiative and responsibility, accuracy, dependability, relations with co-workers, relations with superiors, attendance, and attitudes toward rules and regulations. Since some manpower development programs, particularly the Concentrated Employment Program and the Work Incentive Program, provided training sessions for developing acceptable work attitudes, measuring devices such as this may be of value in assessing such attitude change experiences.

An important question related to work attitudes concerns the individual's perception of his position in the vocational hierarchy, his vocational destination, and the paths leading towards it. Lewis, Cohn, and Hughes (1971)

studied factors bearing on the responses of disadvantaged persons to the Columbus, Ohio CEP. Their results suggest the importance of seeing training and placement from the enrollees' point of view. According to their findings, the enrollee from the ghetto often does not see any practical value in many types of training experiences (orientations, lectures on necessary life skills). He needs money and wants a job. Some conclusions by the authors are provocative:

> The data collected in the present study indicated that those who were unemployed were unwilling to take the kinds of jobs that were available to them. This suggests a way to enhance the employment of these young men--make more attractive jobs available to them, an approach which shifts the emphasis from the individual to the labor market. Instead of trying to influence the characteristics of their clients, manpower programs should focus their efforts primarily on improving the quality of jobs that they can offer. This answer begs the question, however, by failing to give any understanding of the reasons some young men are unwilling to take the less attractive kinds of jobs that are held by most of their contemporaries. The answer to this more basic question appears to lie with the importance that a job has to an individual's sense of who he is and what his life means. (Lewis, Cohn, and Hughes, 1971, p. 271)

Such findings must constantly be kept in mind when discussing "work attitudes" of the disadvantaged. And perhaps it should be noted that the "answer" referred to in the Lewis, Cohn and Hughes study begs the question in an additional sense, namely, will employers feel it would make economic sense for them to offer their more attractive jobs to persons who appear less qualified for them than others they can find on the labor market?

There do seem to be some differences between the middle-class worker and the disadvantaged in terms of their psychological orientation to the world of work. However, attitude differences may to an extent reflect the fact that the disadvantaged may have had more contact with the kinds of jobs that warrant a negative attitude. This does not render work attitudes or efforts to modify them irrelevant to manpower programs; it simply sets constraints on the level of expectation for change as a result of services offered to disadvantaged clients.

Work-related Skills

As part of their development of work samples for disadvantaged youth, the Experimental Manpower Laboratory at Mobilization for Youth conducted follow-up interviews with employers who hired MFY trainees. In the course of

these follow-up interviews, it became apparent that in many cases the failure of MFY trainees on the job was not due to inadequate technical skills, but rather to inappropriate behavior on the job, e.g., tardiness, "blowing up" at supervisors, etc. Employers repeatedly told the interviewer, "We'll take care of the training. You send us the guys with the right attitudes" (in this case, meaning behavior on the job). This finding is echoed in the Roessner (1971) study cited earlier.

Many disadvantaged persons have relatively little experience in the world of work. They may be especially inept, therefore, in dealing with supervisors who criticize or antagonize them, or in getting along with peers in a work setting. Punctuality may be a problem for persons who have never owned a watch, or never needed to be anywhere on time before they got a job. There are literally hundreds of behaviors--some practical and essential, others ritualistic or symbolic--that are required in most work settings. For those lacking experience at work, and/or in the mainstream culture, these behaviors over and above technical job mastery may represent significant areas of mismatch between employers' expectations and the disadvantaged employees' repertoire of behaviors.

Integration

Work attitudes and work-related skills are only two dimensions among many that are relevant to employability development for the disadvantaged. These two dimensions are emphasized in this paper because many of the program efforts to be discussed later were especially formulated to deal with such psychological dimensions in a way that earlier manpower program service delivery strategies were not. To understand what is meant here by "dimensions of disadvantagement," though, it seems important to place work attitudes and job-related skills in a more general framework. Three such organizing frameworks are offered below.

Fine (1969) and Dunnette, et al. (1973) postulate three major categories into which skills pertinent to the work setting can be divided.

(1) Adaptive skills (or as termed above, work-related skills) are those that enable an individual to meet the demands for conformity and change made by the physical, interpersonal, and organizational conditions of a job. They involve management of oneself in relation to authority, relating to others, adjusting to space and time, caring for property, etc. These skills are rooted in temperament, are normally acquired in the early developmental years, primarily in the family situation and among one's peers, and are reinforced in the school situation.

(2) Functional skills are those that enable individuals to function in relation to things, data, and people with some degree of complexity appropriate to their abilities. These skills, rooted in aptitudes, are normally acquired in educational, job training, and avocational experiences, and are reinforced and amplified in specific job situations.

(3) Specific content skills are those that enable an individual to perform a specific job according to the specifications and conditions of a particular employer. These skills are normally acquired either in a specialized training school or on the job.

Dunnette, et al. (1973) stress the role of adaptive skills basic to successful adjustment in the world of work. They particularly stress that these skills need to be trans-situational in character if workers are to adapt to new work situations:

> Successful adaptation seems to require not only conformity to or the acceptance of, societal norms, but also positive and flexible interaction with the environment. Moreover, successful adaptation implies responsiveness not only to society's expectations and rules but also to its novel demands. A person may fit into a particular environment--that is conform--but when he moves to a different environment, his previously adaptive behaviors may be maladaptive.
>
> Consequently, successful adaptation demands behavioral change even though the new behavior is contrary to previous values and attitudes. Difficulties encountered by most new careers programs flow directly from their unfortunate attachment to bureaucracies. Complex bureaucracies have usually been rigid rather than accommodative, and they have demanded of target participants behaviors that ignore the participants' generally very limited adaptive skills. Program courses have been designed to teach mainly functional skills and impart information about things, data, people, and information processing. Even the on-the-job training and apprenticeships have dealt mainly with specific content. Stresses induced by adaptive breakdowns are regarded frequently as sources of personal and value conflict, not as stimuli for creating adaptive skill training procedures. Program directors are not entirely at fault; their negligence is due in part to the absence of available adaptive skills training methods. (Dunnette, et al., 1973, p. 103-105)

A second integrative approach was devised by the Experimental Manpower Laboratory of the Colorado State University. This method for appraising personal resources of manpower program clients incorporates elements from the classification scheme defined above; particular emphasis is placed on social

adaptive skills. The approach provides a diagnostic system of skills that are the product of social learning. Preliminary studies to test the system have been conducted, and further validation now in underway. From the presently available data, there seem to be six basic areas of deficiency or handicap for disadvantaged people:

(1) low opportunity or involvement in the world of work

(2) poor or no transportation available to/from job

(3) poor sanctions (external controls on behavior)

(4) high opportunity for legitimate deviance (violations of law endorsed by person's peers or community)

(5) low perceived opportunity for work achievements

(6) weak personal beliefs and poor personal controls over deviant behavior.

These traits combined seem to be highly predictive of lack of success or involvement in the world of work.

Perhaps the most general approach is another one devised by CSU/EML (Oetting and Miller, 1973), called the Hierarchy of Work Adjustment. This theory conceptualizes eleven specific levels of work adjustment that seem related to problems of unemployment. These levels are shown in Table 1.

The first three levels usually occur before an individual enters a job. They are (1) Work Orientation, in which the individual develops a concept of himself as a worker (work attitudes are part of this level), (2) Job Readiness, during which an individual may have problems of eliminating or reducing barriers which prevent him from being able to look for appropriate work, and (3) Job Getting, in which even though a client may be job-ready and seeking employment, he may not be able to get a job because of a number of personal or social reasons. The next four levels, labeled the Maintenance Group, relate to Job Durability. They involve interaction with the work environment and they are particularly relevant to manpower programs. The disadvantaged client is likely to fail even in a supportive environment unless he develops the attitudes and work habits (job-related skills) considered necessary by the employer although these may not be highly valued by the worker himself. The top levels, entitled Upgrading, relate to getting ahead in one's career and advancing to higher level jobs.

Table 1

THE HIERARCHY OF WORK ADJUSTMENT[1]

	Level		Successful Outcome
(C) UPGRADING GROUP	LEVEL XI	High Level	Satisfactory and Satisfied in New Position
	LEVEL X	Job Or Promotion Getting	Gets Promotion or Better Job
	LEVEL IX	Advancement Readiness	Applies for Promotion or Job
	LEVEL VIII	Orientation for Change	Motivated to Seek
(B) MAINTENANCE GROUP	LEVEL VII	Skilled Performance and Job Satisfaction	Permanent Employment Except for Job Changes
	LEVEL VI	Interpersonal Relations	Long Term Employment
	LEVEL V	Entry Level Performance and Satisfaction with	Still Employed Period Usual Promotion
	LEVEL IV	Job Conformance and Adaptation	Not Fired and Does not Quit in First Few Days
(A) ACQUISITION GROUP	LEVEL III	Job Getting	Obtains Job
	LEVEL II	Job Readiness	Applies for Job
	LEVEL I	Work Orientation	Motivated to Seek Work

[1] Taken from Oetting and Miller, 1973, p. 5

A basic principle underlying the work hierarchy is that adequate work adjustment is not an all-or-none situation but consists of a series of steps each of which is required before the next is possible. It assumes that "unless the client can be led through all the basic stages, he will still fail to maintain the long-term employment despite any help that he has been given." As Oetting and Cole (1973) point out:

> The work adjustment hierarchy has many implications for policy and planning. Eventually it can be used to serve disadvantaged populations, to show the proportions at each level, to indicate what outcomes are probable, the kinds of services that are likely to be needed, as well as indicate the manner in which resources can be allocated to maximize the benefits.
>
> On an individual basis, it can be used to indicate the status of a particular client's work-relevant skills repertoire, the type of help he needs next, and just how difficult the job of rehabilitation is likely to be. It, too, is a classification system; however, whereas our classification in terms of personality and social characteristics is aimed at understanding the underlying dynamics that create or support disadvantagement, the work adjustment hierarchy is fundamentally a criterion approach. The two systems are functionally complementary. The hierarchy is a very direct indication of where the individual is developmentally in relation to work. Personality and social classification say something about why he is there, and about the factors implicated in the maintenance of his disadvantagement.

These organizational schemes are presented here largely because they provide a useful way or ordering characteristics of the disadvantaged that are addressed in manpower service programs. One of the ways in which services typically are individualized is by estimating where clients fall in these classification schemes. Here, we have stressed the importance of work attitudes and job-related skills as variables to be included in a classification system.